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THE DOCTRINE
OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

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THE DOCTRINE
OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

BY
ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M.,
ARCHDEACON OF THE EAST RIDING.

“Χριστὸν ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, καὶ τῆς
μυστικῆς ἐνλογίας ἡ δύναμις ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας ἡμῶν ἀνέφν σαρκός.”—
S. CYRIL. Alex.

“In illo sacramento Christus est; quia corpus est Christi.”—S. AMBROS.

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Neither hypothesis really held by Calvin:—

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 and lest the *outward part* should be forgotten, to be—
 a type or sign of the inward part;—
 and to supply bodily nourishment 275–283

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Testimony of the undivided ancient Church, that—

1st, The thing offered in the Holy Eucharist is the
Body of Christ :

2ndly, The Holy Eucharist is not anything *super-added* to the sacrifice on the cross, but its perpetual *application* :

3rdly, The *victim* offered in the Holy Eucharist is identical with the real *Priest* :

4thly, The sacrifice is *awful, august, and mysterious* :

5thly, The sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist is *efficacious* :

6thly, The sacrifice of Christ in the Holy Eucharist is an *antitype* to the Jewish sacrifices :

7thly, The Holy Eucharist differs from the Legal Sacrifices, because *they* were shadows, while *it* is a reality :

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Sacramental Benefit of the Holy Eucharist, because it is the *application* of the *Incarnation*. In Baptism the Second Adam joins His members to Himself by spiritual power: in the Holy Eucharist He bestows the actual Presence of His *Body* and *Blood*. The effect of Our Lord's Flesh not natural, but as the agent of His Deity—in quickening man's nature—and in bringing him into relation with the nature of God. 398-404

I. Christ's Body and Blood act according to a *spiritual*, not a *physical* order—Their *benefit* only attainable through *faith*. The process, according to which Christ's Body sustains the *soul*, the converse of that, according to which food sustains the *body*—*He* does not pass into the receiver, but the receiver into *Him*—the body built up is the Mystical Body of Christ. The Flesh of the Second Adam an *antidote* to the flesh of the first. 404-413

Spiritual *Life* the condition of profiting by the food of Christ's Body. Baptism the *first* qualification, because then life *bestowed*—life *maintained* by prayer—*recovered* by repentance, confession, and absolution. 414-422

- II. Christ's Body unites men by the bond of *love*, not that of *personality*. The Incarnation the true guard against Pantheism—as recognizing the *distinction* between the Creator and the creatures, while it produces a *relation* between the finite and the Infinite. 422–427

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PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

- The Church of England, as professing to adhere to the Primitive model, bound to follow the ancient rule respecting the Holy Eucharist.
 A *daily* Eucharist the rule under the Apostles. . . . 428–430
- This rule interrupted at first by persecution, but prevalent even in the second, and still more completely in the third and fourth centuries—though more solemn assemblies were held on the Sabbath and on Sunday. Daily *Sacrifice* and daily *Reception* practised and recommended by the greatest Fathers—St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, St. Gregory, &c. 431–436
- The same practice contemplated in king Edward VIth's First Prayer-Book, but discountenanced by his Second Book (composed under Zuinglian influence);—which divested the Communion office of its *sacrificial* character—and for the first time excluded communicants from the *sacrifice*, when unprepared to partake of the *sacrament*. This last order omitted, when the Prayer-Book was first revised and approved by the representatives of the Church, A.D. 1662. Its mischievous effect (which, however, still continues), regretted by Overall and Cosin. Such intermission of the daily Eucharist (*juge sacrificium*) a disparagement of the *Intercession of Christ*. 437–447

Objection, that to partake of the *sacrifice* without partaking at the same time in the *sacrament*, is, 1st, Opposed to the analogy of the Jewish Law ; 2ndly, forbidden by the Primitive Church ; 3rdly, unprofitable. But it may be answered ; that—

- I. In the *ordinary* offerings of the Jewish Law, no one was required to eat of the victim except the *Officiating Priest*. The *Passover* was hardly a proper sacrifice. But even the *Passover* was not *required* to be eaten by women, children, and other disqualified persons, who were members of the sodality, for which it was offered. . . . 448–453
- II. The rule of the Primitive Church, shortly before the division of East and West was—a *daily* Eucharist celebrated by the *clergy*—the *laity* ordered to attend every Sunday, and to receive on great occasions.

The same rule may be traced from the eighth to the commencement of the sixth century.

Bingham's opinion that this custom was introduced during the fifth century, is—

not required by the *words* of St. Chrysostom, on which he grounds it :—

not accordant with St. Chrysostom's own *practice* :—

and inconsistent with the *fact* that no notice of the change occurs. . . . 454–462

The Church's rule in St. Chrysostom's time seems to have been—

that all laymen in communion with the Church were *permitted* to attend the daily sacrifice, without partaking daily of the sacrament—

that *daily* reception was recommended, and that none could be in communion with the Church, who did not communicate *occasionally*.

Four considerations, which lead to this result :

- 1st, The Eucharistic Office was the only Public Ritual during the first three centuries.
- 2ndly, All persons in full communion, who attended it, were expected to remain till the end of the office.
- 3rdly, Some who attended were not expected to communicate. (*Consistentes, &c.*)
- 4thly, No canon of general obligation ordered all to receive—The canons quoted by Bingham either inapplicable or local. . 462-477

III. Those who exclude from communicating with the Eucharistic sacrifice by prayer, ought to prove the practice *unlawful*.

The custom advantageous, as respects *individuals*, because—

- it quickens *devotion* :—
- it gives *efficacy* to their petitions :

Its advantage to the *Collective Church*—

- in maintaining a *belief* in the efficacy of public worship :—
- and a *practical* sense of the Mediation of Christ, ... 477-482

ERRATA.

Pages 4, 5, for Anti-Nicene read Ante-Nicene.

— 76, read note 57. τὰυτα δὲ διόωσι τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει, πρὸς ἐκείνο μετατάσσειν τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν.

— 157-8, transpose notes 13 and 14.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present work is the sequel of a Treatise on the Doctrine of the Incarnation, which was published four years ago. It was there asserted that "*Sacraments are the extension of the Incarnation,*" and a chapter was devoted to their consideration. But their relation to that great mystery was felt from the first to require more detailed consideration. The Doctrine of the Incarnation therefore was followed after a year by a work on the Doctrine of Holy Baptism, and the present treatise completes my design.

In treating on Baptism, little reference was made to any authorities except Holy Scripture, and the formularies and divines of our own Church. For not only are our formularies singularly full upon

this subject, but the language of our great divines is singularly explicit. So that in writing to English Churchmen it seemed hardly necessary to go deeper, or to enter into any great inquiry respecting the teaching of the Primitive Church. In the present instance a different course has been adopted. The greater intricacy of the subject, and the confusion in which it has been involved by an ambiguous phrasology, has made it necessary to mount up to the fountain, and to inquire what was that interpretation of Our Lord's words which was received among His first followers. The method therefore, which has been adopted in this work, is that which was prescribed for the guidance of preachers by the Convocation which imposed subscription to the Articles. They were not to propound anything except that which is consistent with the teaching of the Old and New Testament, and that which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have deduced from its teaching.

Such is the principle which is adopted in the present volume. The authority of Holy Scripture is first referred to, and its infallible decision set forth. When its meaning is disputed, reference is made to the Primitive Fathers, as providing the best means of settling the dispute. So that those who maintain that Scripture is the only authority, can find no fault with the line here adopted. Scripture is referred to as the paramount authority, but when its meaning is disputed, the judgment of

early ages has been taken, as being a safer exponent of its real purpose than mere logical arguments.

And surely there is no point on which the judgment of primitive Christians is of more value than this. For it was a point on which their judgment was entirely unanimous. On many subjects the Church was early rent into parties; so that at times it was difficult to say what doctrine was predominant. But respecting the Holy Eucharist there existed no symptom of disagreement for eight centuries and a half. No doubt the received doctrine had been earlier disputed, but it was not by dissentients within the Church, but by external opponents. The Gnostics,¹ who denied that the Holy Eucharist was the Flesh of Our Lord, cut themselves off in the second century from the Church; and the Messalian² heretics, who denied that this sacred food was either beneficial or injurious, were cut off from it by its public sentence in the fourth. These external assaults throw greater light upon the unanimity which prevailed within. So that Paschasius is the first author who has ever been alleged to have introduced any doctrine which did not meet with universal approval; and the statements of earlier writers were admitted at the time to express the collective judgment of the whole community. Now those who look to the first Christians merely as witnesses, must allow

¹ S. Ignatius ad Smyrn. 6. The passage is quoted by Theodoret, Dial. iii.

² Theodor. Hist. iv. 11.

that they were so far competent judges of the system which was delivered to them, that they could not all have been mistaken respecting its characteristic features. And those who take a higher view of the Church's judgment, and admit it to possess "authority in controversies of faith," cannot dispute its decision upon a point on which there was no dissension. For the eight centuries and a half which precede Paschasius, are those also which precede Photius; they are the period when the East and West were yet undivided, and when the Church could appeal with the fullest confidence to the promise of a supernatural guidance.

In the present work, then, the authorities cited are all previous to the time of Photius, before which the East and the West were not permanently divided; as well as to the time of Paschasius, when the Holy Eucharist first became a matter of dispute. The opinions of later writers are referred to by way of illustration, and not of authority. And in fact, it has hardly been found necessary to go lower than those eminent divines, who were contemporary with the four great Councils of the ancient Church. The value of these writers is, not that they speak a different language from the anti-Nicene Fathers, but that the controversies of their times, and their own higher intellectual culture, gave a scientific form to those truths which had been believed from the beginning. And their authority ought on every ground to be admitted by

English Churchmen; for the reference of our law on heresy to the four first Councils shows that the English Church supposes herself to accord in principle entirely with the Nicene. The authors therefore whose judgment is mainly appealed to in this work, besides the anti-Nicene Fathers, are St. Athanasius, the Gregories, the Cyrils, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Gaudentius, St. Ambrose, St. Leo, and St. Augustin. These, and those who lived at about the same period, express a distinct and accordant view respecting the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and supply a sufficient commentary upon the authoritative statements of Holy Writ.

It may be said, perhaps, that on so sacred a subject distinct views are scarcely desirable; and that it is better not to dogmatize upon topics on which revelation is silent, and which the mind is incompetent to discuss. No one is more sensible than the writer, that to Theology, more than to any other subject of human knowledge, applies the remark of Quintilian, "*inter virtutes habebitur aliqua nescire.*" But in this, as in every other part of divine truth, our ignorance must be based upon some fixed principle, and be bounded by some definite and intelligible limits. What can be more mysterious than the co-existence of the Three Persons in the glorious Godhead, or than the union of Godhead and manhood in the Person of Christ? Yet to make the depth of these truths a reason for

refusing to accept them, would not be humility, but unbelief. There must be some limit, then, to the feeling which leads devout men to shrink from mysteries—some law which discriminates between presumptuous inquiry and reverential contemplation. And what can that limit be, save the very principle which has been already laid down—a reference to the declarations of Scripture, and to the teaching of the Church.

The present inquiry, therefore, will not enter upon any topic which there is not this sanction for considering. Whether Christ is truly present or not in the Holy Eucharist; whether we are to behave as though He were really with us, and are truly responsible for a divine gift; and again, whether in that holy ordinance there is a real sacrifice—these are in great measure practical questions, on which it is possible to produce distinct evidence from Scripture and the primitive Church. But the manner in which Christ's presence is bestowed, whether it be by transubstantiation, or according to any other law, is a point which did not come under consideration during the first eight centuries. On this subject therefore it will not be necessary to enter. But that Christ's presence in the Holy Eucharist is a real presence; that the blessings of the new life are truly bestowed in it through communion with the New Adam; that consecration is a real act, whereby the inward part or thing signified is joined to the outward and

visible sign ; and that the Eucharistic oblation is a real sacrifice—these points it will be attempted to prove by the testimony of Scripture and of the ancient Fathers. “ Domine Deus une, Deus Trinitas, quæcunque dixi in his libris de Tuo, ignoscant et Tui : si qua de meo, et Tu ignosce et Tui.” “ Coram Te est scientia et ignorantia mea ; ubi mihi aperuisti, suscipe intransentem ; ubi clausisti, aperi pulsanti. Meminerim Tui, intelligam Te, diligam Te.”

CHAPTER I.

CONSECRATION THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF
THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

AN inquiry into the nature of the Holy Eucharist must be founded upon Scripture, and upon that passage of Scripture by which this solemn rite was authorized as well as explained. The authority of Him by whom they were spoken, the interest of the occasion on which they were employed, the sententious weight of the expressions themselves—all give to the *words of institution* an importance which few other passages even of holy Scripture can claim.

“Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, *this is My Body*. And He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for *this is My Blood* of the new Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.”

The emphatic words of this declaration consist in each case of three parts. “This is My Body.” “This is My Blood.” We have here, to speak logically, a *subject*, a *predicate*, and a *copula*; there is something spoken of—“This,” which was taken

by Our Lord : there is the affirmation itself—It *is* My Body : there is “ *My Body,*” *My Blood,*” which in each case is the predicate, or thing affirmed respecting the subject. And this gives us three topics, which must be considered in order ; first, the *subject* which is here spoken of ; secondly, the *predicate*, or that which is affirmed respecting it—“ *My Body,*” “ *My Blood;*” and thirdly, the nature of the relation which is affirmed to exist between them. “ *This is My Body.*”

To begin with the first—the *subject*. Our Lord’s words respecting it involve this main truth—that Consecration is the essential characteristic of the Holy Eucharist. For Our Lord does not speak of bread at large, or wine in general, but of *This*, *i. e.*, of that which was consecrated or set apart. It was the bread which He had blessed, over which He had given thanks, and which He had broken ; and the cup over which He had given thanks ; which were the subject-matter of His declaration. The consecration, therefore, by which these elements were separated from all co-ordinate specimens of the same material, is that circumstance which gives them the peculiar character which His words express. And so we may learn also from the only other passage of Holy Scripture in which this subject is formally treated. When St. Paul explains the nature of the Holy Eucharist to the Corinthians, he refers to the consecration of the elements as its distinguishing characteristic.

"The *cup of blessing which we bless*, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? The *bread which we break*, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?" We may infer, therefore, that the elements, as consecrated, are the subject spoken of: Our Lord's awful words do not refer to bread and wine at large, but to that which He held in His hands, and which He had blessed.

Such accordingly was the interpretation of Our Lord's words, which was received from the first in the Christian Church. This is apparent not only from the direct statements of the Fathers, but from those usages, which were coeval with the very existence of Christianity. It is "the food which is sanctified by the word of prayer," which is "no longer common bread, and common drink," but "the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus."¹ It is when "the bread from the earth receives the invocation of God," that it is "no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly."² This is the same doctrine which is more fully expressed by St. Ambrose and St. Augustin.

"Our bread and our cup is not any one," *i.e.* any specimen of the food partaken, "but it is a mystical one, which is produced by a fixed consecration, and does not come by growth. That which is not produced in this way, though it may be bread and a cup, is a means of bodily refreshment, not a sacrament of religion."³ "Before the blessing of the sacred words another

¹ Justin M. Apol. i. 66.

² S. Iren. iv. 18, 5.

³ S. Augustin. Contra Faustum. xx. 13.

species is named; after consecration the Body is signified." "Before consecration it is called a different thing; after consecration it is called Blood."⁴

These passages go to the exact point which it is necessary to prove; that the consecration of the elements was understood to be the characteristic circumstance, upon which the validity of the sacrament was dependent. They show the understanding therefore, which the first Christians put upon Our Lord's words, and that the *consecrated* gifts were supposed to be the subject-matter of His declaration. And the same thing appears both from the importance which from the first was attached to the act of consecration, and from the belief that it could not be effected, save by those to whom a specific commission had been transmitted. The first of these points is attested by the Liturgies of the early Church, as will be seen when we proceed to consider them; the second is witnessed by Church history at large. It may be said, perhaps, that this was a mere rule of decency; and that it contributed to the propriety of worship that public offices should be discharged by public ministers. But such a supposition is negatived by the 18th Canon⁵ of the Council of Nice, which assumes it as

⁴ S. Amb. de Myst. ix. 54. And in his Treatise "De Fide," B. iv. c. 10. 124. "Sacramenta . . . per sacræ orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem."

⁵ Deacons, it would appear, had in some cases taken upon them to deliver the consecrated elements to priests. The Council therefore observes that it is irregular that those who have not the power to consecrate should deliver the elements to those who have. "τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν τοῖς προσφύρουσι διόσθαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ."—C^{on}. 18. It must be remembered that

an acknowledged fact that Deacons had no authority to consecrate the Holy Eucharist, and that this authority was confined to those who had been admitted to the Priesthood. Now, unless there were some real efficacy in consecration, whereby the consecrated elements became other than they were before, why could it not be performed by the lower order of ministers ?

That the Priesthood, then, was a specific commission, whereby the power of consecrating the sacred elements was conferred, and that on the validity of this commission depended the reality of consecration, was the universal belief of the Fathers. "To make the Divine Bread and to minister it, with the view to its being the food of eternal life,"⁶ was the power, which is said to have been given by Our Lord to His Apostles, and which they transmitted to their successors.

"Do you not know," asks St. Chrysostom, "what the priest is? He is the messenger of the Lord. His statements are not his own. If you despise him, it is not he whom you despise, but God, who has ordained him. Does any one ask how it is known that God has ordained him? If you deny this, your own hope is made vain. For if God *effects* nothing through him, you have neither the laver of Baptism, nor do you *partake of the mysteries*. . . . So that you are no Christian."⁷

From the first origin therefore of the Christian

to offer and to consecrate were at that time equivalent terms.—*Waterland's Second Letter to Kelsall*, Works, x. 113. Vide also *Con. Carth.* iv. Can. 4:

"Diaconus . . . non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur."

⁶ "Ad vitam eternam cibum, celestem panem *perficere* ac ministrare."—*S. Ilier.* in *Matth.* c. xiv. sec. 10, p. 681.

⁷ In 2 *Tim.* i.; *Hom.* ii. 2.

Church it was laid down, that no valid Eucharist could be had, where there was no priest to consecrate. In the earliest of all uninspired Christian documents, the Epistle of St. Clement, the office of the Priest is described as that of presenting the Eucharistic Offering.⁸ In the next writer, St. Ignatius, the validity of the Eucharist is expressly limited to those who act by Episcopal commission.⁹ Then comes the Apology of Justin,¹⁰ stating that the "principal minister offered the Eucharist." This is fully confirmed by Tertullian, though some equivocal expressions¹¹ of his have been cited as having a different sense. The Holy Eucharist, he says, was not received except from the hands of the Church's public ministers.¹² And he speaks of it

⁸ "οἱ ποιῶντες τὰς προσηφίας." C. 40, and again C. 44.

⁹ Ad Smyrnænos, 8.

¹⁰ "ἐχρηστῆσαντος τοῦ προσηφίτου," &c. *Apol.* i. 65. The passage from the *Dial. cum Tryphono*, sec. 116, is not quoted, because not decisive when considered in itself.

¹¹ Neander grounds his assertion that the sacraments may be ministered by those who are not in Holy Orders on the authority of Tertullian.—*Échec.* *Hist.* vol. i. p. 302. Hamburg. 1825. He quotes two passages. The first from Tertull. de Baptismo, sec. 17, refers only to Baptism, and therefore can make only for the validity of lay-Baptism. The second passage De exhort. Cast. sec. 7, is explained in Waterland's second letter to Kelsall, works, x. 110 (1823), and in a still more satisfactory manner in Döllinger's Church History, vol. i. p. 223 (London, 1840). Dr. Döllinger shows that Tertullian recognizes the sacred character conferred in Ordination, "honor per Ordinis consensum sanctificatus a Deo:" and he argues with great probability that the usage to which Tertullian is here referring was consequent upon the custom which then prevailed, of preserving the consecrated Elements and receiving them at home. In this case Tertullian maintains that the father of the family, who distributed them, was administering a priestly office, and ought therefore to live with priestly sacredness. It would seem probable, besides, that this work was composed by Tertullian after he had become a Montanist, and its uncertain expressions ought not to weigh against the direct testimony of his orthodox works.—Vide also *De Marcâ de Discrimine Clericorum et Laicorum*, vol. iv. p. 311.

¹² De Corona Mil. sec. 3.

as characteristic of heretics, that they assigned priestly offices to laymen.¹³

As we advance into a period, when Christian writers become more numerous, the proofs that the consecration of the Holy Eucharist was the specific office of the priesthood, and was confined to them alone, are so numerous, that selection becomes the only difficulty. St. Cyprian speaks of the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice as the appointed act by which the ministers of Christ were to imitate¹⁴ their Lord. He describes the clergy as men who should be "given to the service of the Altar and to sacrifices,"¹⁵ and who were chosen to the post of "offering"¹⁶ to God. In the Apostolical Constitutions, the thing demanded for one who was called to the highest office in the ministry was that he "might have authority to offer the pure and bloodless victim, which Thou hast appointed through Christ as the mystery of the New Covenant;"¹⁷ and the ground on which the Priesthood is entitled to the reverence of the people is said to be, "because they honour you with the saving Body, and the precious Blood, and release you from your sins, and make you partakers of the sacred and Holy Eucharist."¹⁸

When we pass to post-Nicene times, we find St.

¹³ De Prescriptione, sec. 41. ¹⁴ Ep. lxiii. p. 104. (Rigalt. Paris, 1666.)

¹⁵ Clerici "non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire . . . debeant."—*Ep.* lxvi. page 109.

¹⁶ "Sacrificia Deo offerentes," &c.—*Ep.* lxviii. p. 113. Vide also *Ep.* lxiii.

¹⁷ Ap. Con. viii. 5. ¹⁸ *Id.* ii. 33.

Basil accounting for the fact that the hermits in the wilderness were accustomed to carry with them the consecrated elements, and administer them to themselves, by saying that it was done, "when there was no priest."¹⁹ St. Hilary shows that the charge against St. Chrysostom, of disturbing the ministration of the Holy Eucharist, could not be true, because Seyrus, who was said to be ministering it, was not a priest. And without a priest, he says, the Christian Sacrifice could not be offered.²⁰ St. Jerome says that deacons ought not to rank with priests, "ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur:"²¹ and he tells the Luciferians that their leader, Hilary, "could not consecrate the Eucharist, having with him neither priests nor bishops."²²

It is obvious, then, both from the practices of the first Christians, and from their doctrines, that they supposed consecration to be the essential characteristic of the Holy Eucharist. They considered the validity of the ordinance to turn upon the setting apart of the sacred elements; they supposed Our Lord to speak not of bread and wine at large, but of *This*, which He held in His hands, and which His ministers after His example are to break

¹⁹ Epistle 93.

²⁰ "Porro sacrificii opus sine presbytero esse non potuit."—*Ex. Operē Hist. Frag.* ii. 16, page 1294.

²¹ Epistola 101. Ad Evangelium.

²² Adv. Luciferianos, vol. iv. Part ii. p. 302. Vide also S. Greg. Naz. Or. 21. sec. iv. Paris, 1630. S. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio, iii. 4, 5, and vi. 4. The Council of Neocæsarea, Canon 9, and Council of Gangra, Can. 4, refer to the consecrating power of the Priest, as a matter of course, and the First Council of Arles, Can. 15, speaks of it as a monstrous abuse, that deacons should presume to consecrate.

and bless. They would not otherwise have supposed that it was necessary that a peculiar class of men should be set apart for the performance of this action, that it could not be effected without a special commission, and that on its validity depended the perpetuation of Gospel blessings.

It will throw further light upon this subject, if we compare the Holy Eucharist with that, which in many respects possesses a corresponding character—the sacrament of Baptism. Both of these ordinances were instituted by Christ Himself; and both have an immediate connexion with those blessings, which He bestows upon His mystical Body. In both there is an inward grace and an outward sign. In both the union of form and matter is necessary to the completeness of that which is outward and visible. But in Baptism the inward part consists only of the benefit bestowed, whereas in the Holy Eucharist, as our catechism reminds us, the thing signified is distinct from the benefit by which it is attended. Baptism, that is, implies two parts only, the outward symbol, and the inward gift; but the Holy Eucharist implies three—the outward sign, the inward part or thing signified, and the accompanying blessing. In Baptism therefore the outward sign has no permanent relation to the inward grace, since the rite has no existence save in the act of administration; but in the Holy Eucharist the outward sign has something more than a momentary connexion with the thing

signified. As respects Baptism, therefore, Our Lord used no words which imply that any particular portion of the element employed is invested with a specific character: it was not *this* water, but the element at large which was sanctified to be a pledge of the "mystical washing away of sin." And the Church has always acted upon this principle. It is orderly and decent that the water should be set apart with prayer, and that the ceremony should be performed by Christ's minister; but the absence of these conditions does not invalidate the act, either according to the belief of the ancient Church, or according to the existing law of the Church of England. For the setting apart of the element confers only a relative holiness; it is not necessary to the validity of the sacrament; the inward grace is associated with the act, and not with the element; and does not require that the outward part should be brought into an abiding relation with any inward part or thing signified. And for the same reason, the intervention of the minister, however desirable, is not essential. A deacon, in the priest's absence, is as much authorized to baptize as a priest. No doubt it might have pleased God to assign the same limitations in the case of Baptism which obtained in regard to the Holy Eucharist; but such limitations are not expressed in Scripture, nor has the thing been so understood by the Church. The priestly office, indeed, is essential to the validity of Baptism, because without it there can exist no

living branch of Christ's Church, into which new members may be engrafted; but its relation to this sacrament is general and not specific, because Baptism depends upon an act which all Christians may perform, and not upon any consecration which requires a special commission.

Now the reverse of all these things is true of the Holy Eucharist. Here it is not the element at large which is spoken of, but *this bread*, and *this cup*. The intervention of the minister is not matter of decent ceremonial; it is essential to the validity of the ordinance. For valid Baptism is that which is ministered to a competent receiver, but a valid Eucharist is that which is received, after consecration by an authorized priest. It is obvious, then, that consecration is the essential characteristic of this sacrament, since, but for it, the inward part and the outward part cannot be brought together. And this fact is testified by that law of our Church, which renders the services of the priest indispensable in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, as it was testified by the practice and assertions of antiquity.

Now, since the necessity of consecration is thus attested by the very nature of our ritual, how comes it not to have been put more prominently forward by our divines? For it can hardly be disputed, that the importance of consecration has been little dwelt upon by many English writers, and that its validity has not been understood by

our people to be the circumstance on which the efficacy of this sacrament depends. The reason may probably be found in the popular unwillingness to break altogether with the foreign Protestants. For the Protestant bodies, with the succession of the ministry, had lost all value for that act of consecration, which is never found to be permanently appreciated, when men have renounced the ministerial commission, which is essential to its reality. Hence it was felt that to dwell upon this point as indispensable, would be to renounce all connexion with those communities. This is obvious from the words of Bishop Cosin, though the reverses which befel the Church of England through the Great Rebellion, seem to have led him at a later period to modify his opinions. After quoting St. Augustin's statement, that if there were no consecration the elements would be no sacrament ; "I doubt," he says, "whether the Puritan's sacrament at Geneva or elsewhere be not such an one or no ; for they do boldly deny any words of mystical consecration at all."²³ In those days men were not prepared to draw such conclusions respecting the necessity of adhering at all hazards to the principles of the ancient Church, as the course of events, and the progress of infidel opinions, have since forced upon all Catholic Christians. So that in assigning to Consecration the place awarded to it by the

²³ Nicholls's Additional Notes on the Common Prayer, p. 48.

teaching of Scripture and the testimony of Primitive antiquity, we are not forsaking the principles of our own Church, but only bringing out those truths, which the circumstances of a former generation withheld it from expressing.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECT OF CONSECRATION, THAT THE BLESSING IS
CONVEYED THROUGH THE ELEMENTS.

THE Consecration of the elements, then, is the essential characteristic of the Holy Eucharist. And from this follows a second truth—that the inward blessing resulting from this ordinance is bestowed through its outward form. Hereafter it will be necessary to discriminate between the thing signified, and the benefit by which it is accompanied (*res sacramenti* and *virtus sacramenti*); at present we may speak of the two together, and say that they are communicated through the outward and visible sign. The consecrated elements, that is, are not only a pledge assuring us of the inward gift, but they are the means through which that gift is communicated.

And yet it is not meant that this sacrament is a physical, but only a moral instrument in man's salvation. By a physical instrument is meant one which acts of itself, by means of those qualities

which are inherent in it: by a moral¹ instrument, one which derives its efficacy from the perpetual intervention of its employer's will. When a chemist would precipitate a salt through the admixture of an acid, the acid employed is a physical instrument—it acts by virtue of those properties which belong to it, in a manner irrespective of his will. But the hand by which he pours it into the mixture is a moral agent; its action is not for a moment independent of his causing will. Now, when it is said that certain inward gifts are bestowed through a sacrament, it is not meant that they are so physically associated with its outward form, as to follow from it in the way of natural consequence: the inward gifts are dependent altogether upon the ordaining will of Almighty God, who appoints a certain external form as the means whereby He bestows His gifts. So that a sacrament is a moral instrument, which derives its efficacy from the perpetual intervention of the Being by whom it has been appointed.

But it may be asked, is not this the case respecting creation at large? Do not all things which are, depend upon the perpetual sustenance of God; the which were He to withdraw, “their instant annihilation could not choose but follow.” Is not this the necessary result, considering that the ultimate cause of all things is an Infinite Mind? Must we not always come to this, if we mount high

¹ Vide Estius in 4 Sent. Dist. i. 5.

enough in the chain of causation ? So that in one sense all created things may be said to be moral instruments, seeing that their efficacy is never independent of the will of their Creator. And what is meant, therefore, when we ascribe this name to sacraments in particular : why should they appropriate a title which belongs to all God's works ?

The answer is, that when we speak of sacraments as moral instruments, we are merely discriminating between the order of grace, and the order of nature ; we affirm that sacraments pertain to the first, whereas those things which are called physical instruments, belong to the second. For it has pleased God that the whole material creation should obey a certain set of laws, which are called the laws of nature. Every individual object, therefore, has its peculiar dimensions, bulk, and qualities ; and by virtue of these does each act upon the others, in a certain uniform and appreciable course. The only exception would seem to be those responsible beings, to whom their Great Author has given that power of spontaneous action, which renders them in this respect an image of Himself. Hence it is that we are able to speak of the permanence of the laws of nature, and can calculate upon the regularity of their effects. And this we do, without implying that they are independent of the will of God, or can produce their effects without His co-operation.

But in sacraments the order followed is not that of nature, but a higher one, which is referrible to

the immediate interference of Almighty God. As a king might govern his dominions by unalterable laws, without laying down such general rules in his own family, so the gifts which the Most High bestows through sacraments in the household of faith, are regulated by a different law from those which are bestowed in the kingdom of nature. In the last there is nothing which to our observation betrays His interference ; He allows things to move on according to the invariable law of physical causation : but the means which are employed in the first, derive their whole efficacy from His continual intervention. It is not meant, then, that sacraments are less certain in their effects than physical agents ; nor yet that their *reality* depends upon those circumstances in their receivers, which are essential to their *utility*. But they are called moral instruments, because they derive their validity from the immediate appointment of Him, who acts in common according to that law, which He has imposed upon the material creation ; because they belong to the order of grace, and not to the order of nature.

It is as a moral, and not a physical instrument then, that the outward form in the Holy Eucharist is the means of conveying the inward gift. And here a further distinction between Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, is suggested by the transient nature of the one, as compared with the continuous nature of the other. Since Baptism exists only in

the act of its administration, it is this act alone which can be the means through which it conveys an inward gift. And therefore there is no such consecration, as invests the material employed with any permanent efficacy. It is otherwise in the Holy Eucharist, where the outward part is consecrated to be the instrument through which there is a continuous ministration of the inward blessing. In the last case, therefore, Our Lord's words indicated that *This*, which He held in His hands, was the fixed medium of conveying the hidden gift. So that in one case the medium is an *act*, in the other an *element* : the act of baptizing is the moral instrument in one instance, the consecrated element in the other.

Such are the conclusions respecting the character and office of the *subject* spoken of, which follow from Our Lord's words. And there are various means whereby these conclusions may be further substantiated. They may be substantiated *positively* by the language and practices of the ancient Church, and *negatively* by a consideration of the results which follow from their denial. Let us commence with the latter of these two modes of argument, reserving the former for a separate chapter.

The proposition before us then, is, that the inward gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the consecrated elements. What inconveniences have followed from the denial of this truth? The first person by whom it was

formally denied was Zuinglius. It formed a step in his progress towards a denial of the validity of consecration, and of the necessity of orders. We know by his own confession,² that long before he renounced the office of a Roman priest, he disbelieved the reality of those sacred rites which he administered. In this respect he was a remarkable contrast to Luther, a man of less acuteness, but of greater honesty of character. From this covert unbelief Zuinglius gradually mounted up to an open denial of the reality of the work effected by consecration, and of the commission of the priesthood. Thus he did not begin, like Luther, by assailing manifest abuses, but attacked that which is common to Christianity at large. His course, however, was acceptable enough to his democratic countrymen, who were well pleased to be taught that the ministerial office was not a trust committed to men by Christ, but was derived from the free choice of every congregation.³ For it followed that the clergy must be responsible to those from whom their authority proceeded.

It must not be supposed, however, that Zuinglius denied the weakness of man, or the necessity

² The proofs of this, from Zuinglius's correspondence, are given by Plank, "Entstehung der Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs," Book v., note 97, vol. ii. p. 257. He also quotes Luther's contrary assertion, "Ich bin gefangen: kann nicht heraus," &c.—*Id.* p. 232. Luther refers to the circumstance in his "Defens. Verb. Ceneæ." "Zuinglius confitetur, quod id in vita sua nunquam crediderit."—*Works*, x., vol. vii., f. 390. He may allude to the words of Zuinglius: "Nemo nostrum (sub Papatu) unquam vere credidit, se in isto pane tale quiddam edere, quod somniavimus."—*Hospinian*, vol. ii. p. 46.

³ Guerike's *Kirchen Geschichte*, p. 806.

of grace. He differed from the Socinian school, which followed in his steps, in that he recognized the need of spiritual assistance, and attributed to it the whole work of man's recovery. The point of contrast between his doctrine and that of the ancient Church was, that he failed to recognize Our Lord's Humanity, either as the means whereby He intercedes for His brethren with the Father, or whereby He communicates to them divine gifts. Now this, in truth, was to deny the mediation of Christ. That Zuinglius really fell into this error, appears from his saying that Our Lord's Body and Blood are not introduced in this ordinance by reason of any *present* influence which they exert, but only because they were the media through which He wrought that work of atonement, which He *formerly*⁴ effected. And, in consequence, he was at a loss to explain why Our Lord's Body and Blood should be spoken of as occupying any place in His present dealings with mankind, and why they should have been introduced in that peculiar and emphatic manner which Our Lord was pleased to adopt at the Last Supper. For ac-

⁴ "Per manducationem ergo sui corporis, et bibitionem sui sanguinis, nihil aliud intelligit, quam fidere morte sua, quam pro nobis pertulit."—*Zuinglius in Hospitium*, vol. ii. p. 48. And in his "*Subsidium de Eucharistia*," he says that believers "have no need of Christ, according to the flesh, for they know that His flesh would not profit them, if they eat it; but it is of great profit to believe that Christ has been slain for you in the flesh," &c.—*Zuinglius's Works*, vol. ii. f. 245. And he speaks of himself as having advanced so far "ut carnem illam externam et corpoream ad salutis summam nihil conducere intelligeremus."—*Id.* ii. f. 273. On St. John, vi., p. 51, he says: "Carnem hic pro morte et passione Christi accipi, quod hæc in carne facta sit." And again: "Corpus pro morte ponitur, quoniam mors in corpore."—*Works, Id.*, iii., f. 308.

according to his system, the Holy Eucharist does not depend upon Christ's acts towards us, but upon our acts towards Him ; it is not the presence of Christ *living*, but the remembrance of Christ *dead*.⁵

In this way it was that Zuinglius arrived at the theory which he declared to be characteristic of the Holy Eucharist, and which he substituted for that belief in the efficacy of consecration which had previously been received. Having denied that the benefit bestowed was bestowed through the elements, he defended his system by asserting that the characteristic of the ordinance was not the consecration of the elements, but the disposition of the receiver. The Holy Eucharist, he said, was not the communication of any *objective* gift, but merely a mode of giving expression to our own *subjective* feelings. Its advantage was only that it was a means of obtaining those spiritual gifts which God bestows equally upon all occasions. So that the sole circumstance which leads to the employment of those particular emblems which are used in this ordinance, is merely that the feelings of men are thereby associated with the past actions of Our Saviour.

⁵ In a letter to Luther, Zuinglius denied altogether that Our Lord's Body was "vivificans in mysterio virtute Spiritus Divini."—*Ebrard's Dogma von Heil. Abendmahl*, ii. 258. This appears to be what is meant by Claude, when he says that Our Lord's Body and Blood act "en qualité de causes méritoires qui agissent moralement, ou de causes motives, qui non seulement produisent leurs effets étant absentes, mais même lorsqu'elles ne sont pas encore."—*Seconde Réponse*, 321. And therefore Zuinglius says, "Quid caro manducata super his omnibus faceret, non inveniebamus in divinis oraculis."—*Hospinian*, vol. ii. p. 47. "Carnem hanc nihil morantur, contenti credidisse eam pro nobis mactatam esse."—*Zuinglius*, vol. ii. fol. 245.

Such was the first theory which was substituted for the ancient belief in the reality of consecration. It affirmed the Holy Eucharist to derive its efficacy merely from the intention of the receiver. And hence it harmonized well enough with the system which a denial of the ministerial commission involves, that every individual is designed to gain salvation for himself, by applying the general truths of Scripture to his own benefit. For whatever prominence is assigned to the Holy Eucharist among the means of grace, its main condition, according to this view of things, may be secured through the secret action of the individual mind. Such a notion was diametrically opposed to the belief that in this ordinance the outward elements are the means of conveying any inward gift. This belief results from the conviction that our glorified Head is still bestowing gifts upon His people, through the communication of His exalted Humanity. But Zuinglius maintained that the Holy Eucharist has reference only to Christ as He was once a Mediator upon earth, and not to Christ as He is still a Mediator in heaven. The Church-system implies that the Holy Eucharist has been ordained as the appointed medium through which the benefits of Our Lord's Humanity may be communicated to men. But Zuinglius, though allowing that all things may be occasions of obtaining grace, because they may incite the mind to seek it, yet denied absolutely

that grace was conveyed⁶ or communicated by any sacrament. According to the Church-system, the words of institution possess a living power ; but Zuinglius supposed them to be a mere dead history. So that if there was any sacredness at all in the Holy Eucharist, he supposed it to lie not in the elements, but in the transaction at large ; and the faith of each receiver was the sole consecrating principle which he admitted.

Now there are two main errors with which this theory is chargeable ; one relating more immediately to the Holy Eucharist itself, the other to the nature of Him who thus vouchsafes to communicate Himself. If the Holy Eucharist be nothing but the eating a specified kind of food in remembrance of Christ, what is to distinguish this act from any ordinary meal which is partaken by Christians ? For ought not devout men to do every thing in the name of Christ, and with reference to Him ? At any rate, if this ordinance turn exclusively upon the intention of the receiver, it is obvious that men's common food might at any moment be converted, by a secret act of their will, into the Eucharistic symbols. Now such a system is not only at variance with those feelings of reverence towards the Holy Eucharist which have prevailed universally among Christians, but it fails to account for various em-

⁶ "Credo, imo scio, omnia sacramenta tam abesse, ut gratiam conferant, ut ne adierant quidem aut dispensent."—*Ad Car. Imp. Fidei Ratio*. Nie-meyer *Collectio Confess.*, p. 24.

phatic passages of Holy Scripture, in which the Humanity of the Second Adam is set forth as communicated in some mysterious manner in this sacrament.

But a further evil results from that denial of Our Lord's mediation, which the theory of Zuinglius involves. His system turns upon the notion that the action of the Divine Spirit has superseded that of the God-man; and consequently that Our Lord exercises no present influence through that ordinance, whereby He communicates Himself. Now this principle, when carried out into its results, is a form of Sabellianism:⁷ it supposes the Second and Third Persons in the Ever-Blessed Trinity to be merely successive modifications of the One Divine Power; and that the functions of the one supersede those of the other. Otherwise, why should not the Second Person in the Blessed Godhead continue to bestow those gracious gifts, which He once made His Humanity the instrument of conveying? If this is no longer possible, it must be because the action of God the Holy Ghost has done away in some measure with that of the Incarnate Son. And hence it will follow that the distinction between these Blessed Persons does not lie in their own eternal nature, but only in their relation to the created Universe.

The Zuinglian theory then is untenable, not only on account of its irreverent dealing with this holy

⁷ This subject will be treated more at length in the 10th chapter.

sacrament, but also because it fails to do justice to the nature and operations of the Incarnate Son. This was felt by Calvin, when the death of Zuinglius threw into his hands the guidance of the new opinions in Switzerland. No one spoke with greater force or fulness on the office of Our Lord's Humanity,⁸ and he was obviously disposed to assign to it an influence which had not been attributed to it by Zuinglius. It followed that he could not suppose the force and efficacy of the Holy Eucharist to depend merely upon the disposition of the receiver,⁹ because the necessary consequence of such a supposition is to destroy all belief in the objective reality of the gift. And yet he was not less indisposed than Zuinglius to admit the validity¹⁰ of consecration, or the necessity of orders. Against this he was pledged, not only by his party and principles, but by the fact that he himself exercised ministerial functions without ordination. So that it was necessary to his position to find some third alternative, which, without involving the validity of consecration, might yet put this sacrament upon a higher ground than had been taken by his predecessors.

Now it is obvious that a gift bestowed by one party upon another may be important either in

⁸ Vide a striking passage in Calvin's Institutes, Lib. iv. 17. 7, 8, 9.

⁹ "Respondeo non sic intelligendum quod dixi, quasi ab ejus qui recipit conditione aut arbitrio vis et veritas sacramenti pendeat."—*Instit.* iv. 14, 16.

¹⁰ He objects to rest upon "consecratio" as being "magica incantatio."—*Inst.* iv. 17, 15.

consequence of the value of the gift itself, or by reason of considerations derived from the parties concerned in the giving and receiving. The ordinary food, which sustains us, is an instance of the first kind: it has its value in itself; it is the physical instrument of our support. We may find examples of the other sort in the Old Testament. The "ribbon of blue," which the Israelites received as an article of dress by God's appointment, was of no value in itself: its effect was derived solely from the associations to which it gave rise in the minds of the wearers. Here then was a gift, which was only rendered important by the state of the receiver. Again, when it pleased God to put His Bow in the cloud, here was a thing which neither was of value in itself, nor yet derived it from the disposition of the spectator. The Bow had no tendency to prevent a deluge; it only expressed the intention of Him who put it there. So that we have three different ways in which a gift may be important; first, from its own value; secondly, from the state of the receiver; thirdly, as expressive of the intention of the giver.

Let us apply, then, these principles to that sacred gift which was bestowed by Our Lord when He employed the words of Institution. On which of these three grounds are we to rest the importance of the gift which He conferred, when He said, "*This is my Body?*" Those who maintain the validity of consecration, of course adopt the first:

they suppose His blessing to have bestowed its value upon the gift which He communicated. Zuinglius took the second alternative: he maintained that the significance of the gift was derived entirely from the receiver. Calvin adopted the third hypothesis, as enabling him to do justice to the importance of this sacrament, without admitting the necessity of consecration. He said that its effect did not arise out of the state of the receiver, nor yet depend upon the value of that which was conveyed in the elements, but that respect must be had exclusively to the intention of the *Giver*.

This threefold view of things shows itself in the various definitions which have been given of the word sacrament. Those who retain their belief in consecration will readily accept that of Peter Lombard, which Bishop Overall has amplified, "*invisibilis gratiæ visibilis causa.*"¹¹ According to Zuinglius, the definition of a sacrament grows entirely out of a consideration of the receiver; it is a public testimony of that grace which each individual possesses,¹² or "a means by which a man displays himself to the Church."¹³ But Calvin states it to be the main end of sacraments "that God may by them testify, represent, and seal His favour to us."¹⁴

¹¹ Lib. Sentent. iv. Dist. I, 2.

¹² "Testimonium publicum ejus gratiæ, quæ cuique privato prius adest."—*Fidei Rat. ad Car. Imp. in Niemeyer's Collectio Confess.* p. 25.

¹³ "Sunt sacramenta signa . . . quibus se homo ecclesiæ probat," &c.—*De Vera et Falsa Religione*.

¹⁴ "Ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, representet, atque obsignet."—*Consens. Tigur.* vii. *Niemeyer*, p. 193. This confession exhibited Calvin's matured views. And his shorter definition of a sacrament in his Institutes is, "*Divine in nos gratiæ testimonium, externo signo confirmatum cum mutua nostræ erga ipsum pietatis testificatione.*"—iv. 14, i.

The Divine intention, then, according to Him, is the thing to be considered in the Holy Eucharist. The elements are not to be looked upon as an instrument of effecting anything, but merely as indications of the purpose of God. For at the same moment when these pledges are exhibited to the lips, it pleases God to produce a supernatural relation between our Lord's Humanity and the renewed soul. Respecting the means by which this relation is effected, Calvin spoke uncertainly ; whether it was by the raising of the soul to heaven, or by some spiritual but undefined presence of our Lord's Humanity upon earth. A recent writer,¹⁵ who has undertaken to perfect and extend his theory, sees in it the germ of the opinion, that the essence of matter is spiritual, and maintains that when Calvin affirmed Our Lord to be spiritually present, he meant that according to the essential part of His human nature, Our Lord was really present to the receiver. Calvin certainly uses ambiguous phrases, on which such a construction might be put : though his real meaning appears to have been that the soul was lifted up into heaven :¹⁶ but the point upon which he insists is

¹⁵ Vide Ebrard's *Dogma von Heiligen Abendmahl*, vol. ii. p. 556. 658.

¹⁶ "Quasi vero si ad se nos evehat, non aque potiamur presentia."—*Instit.* iv. 17. 31. And so the thing is expressed in the several confessions. The first Scotch says, "Nos vera fide super omnia quæ videntur . . . vehit, et ut vescimur corpore et sanguine Jesu Christi, semel pro nobis effusi et fracti, efficit, quodque nunc est in celo," &c.—*Niemeyer*, p. 353. It will be shown in the sequel how nearly this passes into the theory of Zuinglius, that Our Lord is merely an object to the intellect of men.—Vide *Instit.* iv. 17. 18. For our relation to Christ is affirmed by Calvin to be like that of St. Stephen, whose eyes, he says, were miraculously strengthened, so that he saw into heaven.—Vide *Answer to Heshus. Works*, viii. 728.

merely that the inward benefit of the Holy Eucharist is the union which takes place between Christ and the receiver's soul.

By this theory Calvin designed at once to leave room for those strong expressions which Holy Scripture and the ancient writers used respecting the Holy Eucharist, and yet to obviate the necessity of admitting the sacredness of the elements, and of letting in the validity of consecration and of orders. For no words could be too strong to employ respecting the benefit of this sacrament, supposing it was allowed to be the actual enjoyment of that union with Christ, the possession of which is the life of the soul. For to be "in Christ," is to be "a new creature." But this involved no kind of sacredness in the elements. They were merely signs, or pledges, with which the Supreme Giver vouchsafed to accompany the inward work which He was performing. A seal, or pledge, does not in any way partake of the character of that which it certifies: it is only an assurance of the intention of the party by whom it is given, and its validity is guaranteed by his ability and his truth. Such, maintained Calvin, was the sole purpose of the elements; they neither require consecration, nor are they the means of communicating any gift: they are merely like "the seals of a deed,"¹⁷ and convey to us an assurance of God's inward action.

¹⁷ "Diplomatum Sigilla."—*Inst.* iv. 14. 5. He compares them to the Bow in the Cloud.—*Inst.* iv. 14. 18.

But can it be intended that all who receive the elements with their lips, are spiritually united to Christ Our Lord? Do all such persons receive that gift of oneness with Our Lord's Humanity, which implies the life of the soul? This cannot be intended. Yet it would seem to be required by the terms of Calvin's argument. For the elements, according to his theory, are like the chain and purple with which Daniel was clothed, and which implied that he already enjoyed the favour of the Babylonish monarch. Calvin's statement is that the elements are the seal of a charter, or title-deed, whereby Our Lord gives expression to the relation which, at the moment of delivery, He establishes between His own Humanity and the receiver's soul. Now, since the very principle of a bond or charter is that it pledges the party who executes it, why does not this inward result always go along with the delivery of the external sign? Yet this cannot be; for the inward result, according to Calvin, is the union of the soul with Christ, and the soul cannot be united to Christ except it lives.

It is no sufficient answer to this difficulty to reply that such a result is put within the reach of all, although none but devout communicants avail themselves of their opportunities. It may be said that though this answer would be inconsistent with the principles of a Calvinist, yet that it ought to satisfy those who suppose that all men receive

such grace as is sufficient for their salvation. But to make such a reply is to give up the very merit of Calvin's system. His superiority to Zuinglius was, that he did not suppose the Holy Eucharist to be merely an occasion on which God bestowed the general succours of grace, but that he asserted it to carry along with it a specific and peculiar blessing, namely, that relation to Christ which results from oneness with His glorified Humanity. Thus did he at once account for the title assigned to the elements, by reference to the real character of that with which they were connected, and afford an opening also for all those statements, whether in Scripture or the Fathers, whereby the mysterious sacredness of this ordinance is expressed. He was able, consequently, to accept St. Cyril's language respecting the efficacy of Our Lord's Flesh, and his followers have always boasted that the highest conceptions on this subject find a place in their creed.

Now, with such a view of things, it was essential for Calvin to point out why the outward pledges, by which the Divine Giver of the Holy Eucharist expressed His intention, were not always attended by the desired result. It would not do for him to fall back upon the notion, that the thing bestowed in the Holy Eucharist was merely the preliminary assistance of God's grace, for that would have been to abandon the capital truth, that the inward part in this sacrament was the actual Humanity of the

Son of God. So that the difficulty recurs, does this relation of the soul to Christ take place whenever the elements are received by the lips; and since it plainly cannot take effect except in those who are in a state of spiritual life, how can we speak with truth of the outward elements as being the pledge of an inward blessing?

Calvin's answer to this must be sought in that which was laid down as the foundation of his system, that the importance of the Holy Eucharist arose neither out of the value of the gift which it conferred, nor yet from a consideration of the receiver, but from its expressing the intention of Almighty God. The outward elements therefore are, as it were, a deed or charter, by which the Supreme Being binds Himself to bestow the gift of Christ's Presence simultaneously upon the soul of the receiver. But this charter is limited by a secret article,¹⁸ by which Almighty God has assigned some of His creatures to bliss, and others to misery. To the former only are the elements really the seal of an inward gift: to the latter they are

¹⁸ "Ait quidem Calvinus et recte, prodesse nullis sacramenta, nisi predestinatis." *Whitaker, Prefect.* i. 3. So in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, in which Calvin joined with the divines of Zurich, A. D. 1549, "Sedulo docemur, Deum non promiscue viam suam exercere in omnibus, qui sacramenta recipiunt, sed tantum electis," sec. 16. "Reprobis peraque ut electis signa administrantur: veritas autem signorum ad hos solos pervenit," sec. 17. *Niemeyer*, p. 195. So in the *Confess. Belgica*, sec. 35, *Niemeyer*, p. 385. And so in the *Institutes*, speaking of the reception of Christ, he says, "reprobos ab ejus participatione arceri."—iv. 17, 34; and vide iv. 14, 17. And in his Tract "*De vera Participatione*," he points out that his doctrine of Decrees is a substitute for the efficacy of consecration. He says, "Non esse inclusam Spiritus gratiam aut virtutem externis signis: quia nec equaliter nec promiscue omnibus prout, . . . sed Deum libere, prout visum est, Sacramentis uti, ut electis adminicula sint in salutem, aliis nihil conferant adeoque cedant in exitium."—*Works*, vol. viii. p. 743.

but the empty eating of bread and wine. So that the objection against Calvin's theory of the Holy Eucharist is, that it involves that dogma of reprobation, which is the opprobrium of his system. And as the theory of Zuinglius has been shown to be inconsistent with the first principles of Christian piety, so is Calvin's with any due respect for the declarations of Scripture and the character of God. And thus are we thrown back upon the reality of consecration, and upon a belief that the inward gift in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the outward form.

Such is the negative argument in favour of the Church-system of the Holy Eucharist, which is derived from a consideration of the opposing theories. It has been shown that the importance of that which our Lord gave to His disciples, must either have arisen from the value of the gift itself, or from a consideration of the parties concerned in the giving and receiving. Thus arose the three systems, of which alone the case admits ; the benefit of the Holy Eucharist is either conveyed through the elements, or else it depends merely upon the disposition of the receiver, or upon the intention of the Giver. So that to show the untenable nature of the two latter hypotheses, is to establish the first.

Neither is it any answer to this mode of argument to say that these three systems may possibly coalesce, so that the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist

may depend upon their combined effect. For it is not denied either that it is the intention of the Supreme Being to give effect to His ordinance ; or that the Holy Eucharist is inefficacious, unless there be a devout receiver. The thing objected to in the theories of Calvin and Zuinglius, is not that they insist upon these conditions, but that they substitute them for the validity of consecration. These conditions are fully recognized in the Church-system, but they are not allowed such exclusive weight, as may render consecration unnecessary. Whereas, to admit the theories of Calvin and Zuinglius, is to attribute every thing either to the disposition of the receiver, or to the intention of the Giver. It has been shown how untenable is each of these two hypotheses ; but before we proceed to produce positive evidence in behalf of that system which remains, there are two important conclusions which require to be noticed.

First—It has been seen that there are two counter theories, which oppose the belief that the inward gift in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the elements. Now it is important to remember that both these theories might be adduced as proofs of the statement with which the present chapter commenced. For though both contain a denial that the gift is bestowed through the elements ; yet both imply that this truth could not be denied, if the validity of consecration were admitted. It was the object both of Zuinglius and Calvin to deny the

reality of Consecration, inasmuch as it brought along with it that whole system of the Priesthood to which they were opposed. It was with a view to exclude this belief that they denied that the inward gift in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the elements. Their opposition to this conclusion was founded on their hostility to the principle out of which it arose. We have seen the groundlessness of their objections ; they produce no good reasons for denying that the inward gift in the Holy Eucharist is communicated through the outward form. But we have no reason to question their authority, when they affirm this belief to be the necessary result of admitting consecration: they are witnesses that none, who allow consecration, ought to deny that the gift in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the elements.

Secondly—The considerations which have been adduced, show that the dogma of an *Absolute Decree* is the corner-stone of Calvin's system of the Holy Eucharist, and that its removal must be fatal to the whole superstructure. For it is through this dogma alone that he is enabled at once to dispense with a belief in consecration, and yet to do justice to the solemn and mysterious nature of the inward ordinance. Let this dogma be taken away, and his system falls down at once into Zuinglianism. For if the inward gift in the Holy Eucharist be not the very Presence of Christ's Humanity, but merely that general assistance of God's grace which belongs

equally to all ordinances, there is then no ground for those lofty expressions which were used respecting this sacrament in early times, nor anything unreasonable in the statements of Zuinglius, that its peculiarity lay only in its signal fitness to affect the heart. It is only therefore by his notion of an Absolute Decree, whereby he limits its communication to the elect, that Calvin is able to lift this ordinance to the level assigned to it by Scripture and Antiquity.

We may understand, then, what has been the result, when the natural repulsiveness of the dogma of an absolute decree has led Calvin's followers to drop it from their system. The necessary effect has been, that their belief respecting the Holy Eucharist has settled down unconsciously to the level of Zuinglianism. And hence have arisen those consequences—a total irreverence as regards this sacrament, and a practical disbelief in the permanent action of our Lord's Humanity—which have been shown to be the result of the latter system. Nor has this process been confined to those countries in which Calvin's system professedly bore sway. It would be idle to deny that his theory on the sacraments has exercised a large influence upon our own writers. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that his Institutes were a Text-book for nearly a century; and considering the attractions of a system which promised a security against the abuses of a carnal interpretation, without de-

tracting from that mysterious reverence with which this sacrament had always been regarded. Hence, many of his expressions passed unconsciously into the circulation of the English Church. The notion that the elements are mere *seals* or *title-deeds*, and not the instruments through which Christ's Presence is dispensed—that is, that they are *pledges* only of an absent, and not *media* of a present gift—was adopted, in ignorance that this theory was inconsistent with that principle of consecration which still retained its place in our formularies ; and that to be a substitute for a belief in consecration, had been the very purpose of its introduction.

The consequences of the system developed themselves in time in England, as they had done in those countries where Calvinism was formally established. No sooner did the dogma of an absolute decree sink, through its inherent unpopularity, than Zuinglius was found to have entered through the door which had been opened by Calvin. We may see this by comparing two such great writers as Hooker and Waterland. It must not be forgotten, of course, that each had derived the larger part of his opinions from the teaching of antiquity,¹⁹ and that, unlike Calvin, they were members of a Church which retained the ministerial succession, and the rite of consecration. It is to those expressions, therefore,

¹⁹ When these, therefore, or other modern writers, are quoted in the present work, the author does not intend to assert that he agrees with them entirely : his agreement with them is limited by their agreement with the Primitive Church.

which imply them to have been infected by the influence of foreign Protestantism, that the present comparison is confined. Such statements as that Our Lord's Presence is to be looked for in the receiver, and not in the sacrament ; and that the gift bestowed is bestowed through the ordinance, and not through the elements, are essential parts of those very theories which were invented as substitutes for the reality of consecration. Now, the contrast between these two writers depends upon the consideration, that the one lived in the sixteenth, the other in the eighteenth century ; the first, therefore, while the doctrine of Absolute Decrees was still predominant, the second when it was completely abandoned. We should expect, therefore, that Hooker would take a far higher view of the gift bestowed in this sacrament than Waterland : and that the two would illustrate the diversity between the Calvinistic and Zuinglian theories. And such is found to be the case. With Hooker, the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist is built entirely upon its relation to the Humanity of Christ ; he enlarges upon the subject with greater force and fulness than any of our writers ; and does ample justice to its present effect upon this sacrament. In Waterland's time, on the contrary, belief in the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist had gone down entirely to the level of Zuinglianism. He thinks it sufficient, if he can maintain against the Socinians, that the inward part in this sacrament is the com-

munication of some spiritual grace. The peculiar efficacy of our Lord's Humanity, and the signal medium of its influence which is supplied by the Holy Eucharist, are altogether lost. He censures Calvin for having attempted the vindication of this mysterious truth; not perceiving that it was this very circumstance which had enabled Calvin to do some justice to the teaching of Antiquity and to the declarations of Holy Writ.

But we must now pass to another subject, and show what positive proofs can be adduced, that the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the elements.

CHAPTER III.

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH TO THE EFFECT
OF CONSECRATION.

CONSECRATION has been affirmed to be the essential characteristic of the Holy Eucharist; and from this fact it has been inferred that the gift bestowed in that ordinance is bestowed through the elements. Such is the statement which has been shown to have been implied in Our Lord's words of Institution. We have seen what objections attach to the two systems of Zuinglius and Calvin, by which this truth is opposed. We must now see the direct evidence which is borne by the ancient Church in its favour. The Church's testimony will complete the proof, that we have given a right interpretation to the first of Our Lord's words of Institution, that the *subject* of which He spoke, is such as has been represented.

The evidence of the Ancient Church may be most conveniently divided into three parts.

I. The ancient Liturgies turn upon three main points—Consecration, Oblation, Communion. All

these acts make that which is *done* to and through the elements the prominent consideration ; and contemplate them as the medium through which the blessing is communicated.

II. There are distinct statements in the ancient writers, that the elements themselves are subjected to a change in consecration, on which their efficacy is dependent.

III. The conduct observed respecting the elements in the early Church, implied them to be the medium through which a gift is transmitted.

These subjects must be taken in their order.

I. The Liturgies. In considering this kind of evidence, it will be necessary to inquire, first, what is the antiquity of the ancient Liturgies ; secondly, what is their number ; before we come to the third question, what is it which they teach. One preliminary statement however it is necessary to make ; that in considering the Liturgies we shall have no occasion to examine the authority of single expressions, because they are here appealed to as witnesses to that general mode of action which pervaded the primitive worship, rather than as supplying a dogmatic interpretation of individual statements. The object is to inquire what was that mode of consecrating the Eucharistic Elements, which prevailed throughout all parts of the ancient Church from Spain to the Euphrates, and from Gaul to Africa ; and what the elements themselves were supposed to acquire by consecration.

Little attention was given to this subject in the eighteenth century, because the Liturgies were supposed to express nothing but the existing opinions of the Church, and it was thought impossible to discriminate their original constitution from the accretions of later times. But subsequent inquiry, and the discovery of new documents, have supplied such decisive tests, that it is now possible, first, to show conclusively, what was that Liturgical Order which existed during the Nicene age, and secondly, to show by probable evidence, what was the mode of worship in the generation which immediately followed the Apostles. These are the two points which must first be demonstrated.

Now, by what means are we to ascertain the mode of worship which existed in the Nicene age ; that is, during the latter part of the fourth and the commencement of the fifth centuries ? The first inquiry must plainly be, what are the oldest documents which exhibit the service of the Ancient Church. Here it must be admitted, that with the exception of some Palimpsests, very recently made public, we have nothing which can carry us up to the Nicene age. The earliest Liturgical documents previously known, belong to the end of the seventh century. Such is the manuscript of the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, formerly in the Barberini¹ Library at

¹ Proemium to Goar's *Euchologion*. Bunsen has given a list of its contents. Hippolytus and His Times, iv. 382.

Rome, which Montfaucon dates about A. D. 691.² Of nearly equal date are the manuscripts, from which the Gallic Liturgy, and the Gelasian recension of the Roman Liturgy were published by Thomasius;³ the Leonian Sacramentary by Blanchinius, and the Gregorian by Muratori. These, together with a Gallic Sacramentary of about the same age, from a monastery at Bobbio,⁴ which was printed by Mabillon, have all been republished in the valuable work of Muratori.⁵

A great step, however, has been lately made, by the discovery of various Palimpsests, which profess to carry up our manuscript authority to a much higher period. Bunsen has published one, from the Library of St. Gall,⁶ which he dates A. D. 350, and Mone has published a collection, which from their larger number is of far greater value, from Palimpsests at Carlsruhe. The new writing which had superseded them, was itself of the beginning of the eighth century, and Mone would refer some of the Liturgical documents which preceded them, and which a chemical process has enabled him to detect, to the time of St. Irenæus. That which

² Palmer's Origines, i. 49.

³ "Codices Sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores," Romæ, 1680. For the authenticity of these documents, vide *Palmer's Orig. Liturgicæ*, i. 116, 143. *Care Hist. Literariæ*, i. 464. Morinus, by whom the larger part of these appear to have been first noticed, when in the possession of Petavius, a Senator of the Parliament of Paris, from whom they passed to Queen Christina, supposed the Codex which contained the Missale Francorum to have been written before the year 560.—*Penitentiary App.* p. 52. The "Missale Vaticanum Vetus," was from the Vatican Library, but of as old a date as the rest. *Muratori*, ii. 515.

⁴ *Muratori*, ii. 767.

⁵ *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, edente L. A. Muratori. Venetiis, 1748.

⁶ Hippolytus and his Times, iv. 470.

seems not improbable, however, from the allusions to persecution, and from other circumstances, is that they were of the age of Dioclesian.⁷

It cannot be said, then, that these manuscripts (for the Palimpsests are too recently discovered to have taken their place as decisive authorities) can carry us back to the Nicene age. They are important, as showing demonstrably what kind of service was used a hundred years before the time of Paschasius Radbert, and therefore before a carnal interpretation is alleged to have been given to the doctrine of the Real Presence. But if we would ascertain what was the mode of worship in the Nicene age, we must discover what usages were employed anterior to the composition of the oldest surviving manuscripts. Now this we are enabled to do, through those divisions which followed the great Councils of 431 and 451. The different bodies which then left the Catholic Church, were so completely separated from the orthodox, that no intercourse has since existed between them. So that when there is an identity between the Liturgies which are still retained by the Catholics, and those which these bodies carried with them into their separation, it will show what was that mode of worship which was in use previous to the division. This species of inquiry was suggested by Renaudot, and it enabled him to fix the text of the two great Liturgies of St. James

⁷ Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert. Von F. J. Mone, 1850, vide p. 10, 55.

and St. Mark, which form a basis for all the other Liturgies of the East.

The most important of early Liturgies is that which goes by the name of St. James, because it was the Liturgy originally employed in the Church of Jerusalem, and thence in other parts of the ancient Patriarchate of Antioch. It is still read on the festival of that Apostle at "Jerusalem, and in some of the islands of the Archipelago;"⁸ and has been printed from various early manuscripts.⁹ Moreover, it is referred to by various writers, who lived within the Patriarchate of Antioch, in which it was employed, such as St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, Ephrem Syrus, and St. Cyril of Jerusalem. The last in particular gives a description of it in his *Mystagogical Catechisms*, by which alone it might be sufficiently identified. It seems to have been imitated also by the writer of the Apostolical Constitutions, who lived in that part of the world about the Nicene Age, and who borrowed what he called the Clementine Liturgy from the usages of the Church. This work, however, being only that of a literary individual, is not of the same importance¹⁰ as any of the public Liturgies,

⁸ Neale's *History of the Eastern Church*, i. 318.

⁹ Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, i. 21.

¹⁰ The Chevalier Bunsen (*Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. iv. p. 161) attaches great importance to some liturgical fragments, which were taken by Ludolphus from an Æthiopic version of the Apostolical Constitutions. But besides the objections stated in the text, it is to be observed, first, that the Æthiopic Church was not founded till the fourth century; and, secondly, that the manuscript from which Ludolphus's extracts were taken (as he himself says, "*mendosissime et corruptissime*") was evidently of late date.—Vide *Ludolphus Commentarius ad Hist. Æthiopicam*, p. 304, &c.

supposing their form to be ascertainable. And we can determine what was the form of St. James's Liturgy, as it was used during the Nicene Age, because its basis¹¹ turns out to be identical with that of the Syriac Liturgy,¹² which goes by the same name, and which has been preserved among the Monophysites, or Syrian Jacobites, who have held no kind of communion with the Catholics, since they separated at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. And this Syriac Liturgy is the parent of thirty-nine others, which are preserved among the Jacobites, and in which its features are more or less repeated. Thus then we can determine what was used as the Liturgy of St. James during the Nicene Age, because it is preserved for us among the liturgical offices of two parties, whom the strongest mutual hostility has prevented from acting in concert during fourteen centuries.

A similar mode of argument enabled Renaudot to determine what was the ancient Liturgy of St. Mark, or that which was employed in the Church of Alexandria. A Liturgy purporting to be that of "the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark," and proved to be of Egyptian origin, by the prayers which it contains for the rising of the Nile, has been printed from a manuscript¹³ of the tenth or

¹¹ Vide Palmer's *Orig. Litur.*, i. 24.

¹² The Liturgy of St. James is printed in "Neale's Tetralogia." The Syriac Liturgy of St. James is translated by Renaudot, ii. 29. (Paris, 1716.)

¹³ Compare Renaudot, i. 40, 144, &c., and Palmer's *Orig.* i. 85.

eleventh century, discovered in a Greek convent in Calabria. Now this Liturgy is found to tally exactly with that which is at present used at festivals by the Egyptian Monophysites, and which Renaudot translates from the Coptic ; and the correspondence between them is found to extend even to those slight questions of arrangement in which different families of liturgies differ from one another. The Coptic service indeed bears the name of St. Cyril, whom the Monophysites (though unjustly) were accustomed to claim as authorizing their opinions ; but that it presents the form in which the Alexandrian service was formerly solemnized, is shown by its re-production in the *Æthiopic Canon*,¹⁴ and its nine derivative Liturgies. So that here again we can tell with certainty what was the Liturgy which was used in Egypt before the year 451 ; for the several parties by whom the documents have been preserved, have been separated, not only by religious antipathy, but by difference of speech.

These two Liturgies then, of St. James and St. Mark, form the basis of our inquiry, because their form can be fixed in a positive manner. The Liturgy of St. James affords the means by which we may ascertain the genuineness of the office attributed to St. Basil, which was introduced into the Church of Cæsarea about A.D. 370 or 380.

¹⁴ Renaudot, i. 496. Neale's *History of the Eastern Church*, i. 324. Palmer, i. 97.

For St. Basil's Liturgy is a sort of recension of that of St. James, as the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom again is of that of St. Basil. These last are the two Liturgies at present used in the orthodox Greek Church ; St. Basil's on his own feast, and during the greater part of Lent ; St. Chrysostom's during the rest of the year. Their general authenticity is shown, not only by their agreeing in arrangement with the Liturgy of St. James, from which they are derived, but from the relation borne to them by the Armenian Liturgy, which is historically connected with that of St. Basil, and by the Nestorian, which has the same connexion with that of St. Chrysostom.¹⁵ And besides these general grounds of acceptance, Mr. Palmer¹⁶ maintains that their text may be determined by the ordinary proofs resorted to in respect to other ancient documents.

There are two main Families of Eastern Liturgies then, that of Jerusalem, and that of Alexandria, and it is known what was the exact form of each in the Nicene Age. It is unnecessary to express an opinion respecting the assertion of Neale and Renaudot, that the Nestorian Liturgy of St. Adæus and St. Maris is to be added as a third family, and as the ancient Liturgy of Mesopotamia.¹⁷ For even if its antiquity should be admitted, its frag-

¹⁵ Vide Renaudot *Diss. de Lit. Orig.* i. 34. Neale's *History of the Eastern Church*, i. 320.

¹⁶ Palmer's *Origines*, i. 66, 75.

¹⁷ Neale's *Hist. of the East. Church*, i. 320, 483. Renaudot, ii. 568, 599. Mr. Palmer maintains the contrary ; *Orig.* i. 195.

mentary form would render it of little practical importance. We may turn, therefore, to the Western Church, and observe that we can determine what was the form of St. Peter's Liturgy, or that which was used in the Church of Rome, in the time of Leo the Great. For the Sacramentary of St. Gregory is of unquestioned authority, and two earlier recensions of the same Liturgy, copied from manuscripts of the eighth century, are published by Muratori. One of these is that which was originally printed from the manuscript of Christina, by Thomasius, the other from a still older manuscript at Verona, by Blanchinius. The only preceding Bishops of Rome, to whom these recensions of the Liturgy can with any plausibility be attributed, are Gelasius and St. Leo.¹⁸ So that here again we are led to the year 451, as a date at which the Liturgical practice of the Western Church also, can be ascertained. And this is confirmed by the resemblance which exists between the Leonian Sacramentary, and the Ambrosian Liturgy employed at Milan.¹⁹ So that we may add the Liturgy of Rome to that of Alexandria and Jerusalem, as well as to those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, as affording a positive basis from which to reason respecting the Liturgical usage of the Church in the Nicene age.

The conclusions thus attained supply a key to

¹⁸ Vide Palmer's *Origines*, i. 117, and Muratori, *Dissert. de Rebus Liturgicis*, cap. 3.

¹⁹ This is given, Muratori *Lit. Rom. Vetus*, i. 131.

the formularies of two other Churches, those of France and of Spain; respecting which the evidence, when viewed in itself, is less decisive. We know, indeed, that the ancient Liturgy of Gaul cannot be referred to a later date than the eighth century, because the Roman Liturgy was introduced in its stead in the time of Charlemagne: and also that the Spanish Liturgy was in existence as an independent rite, before the Mahometan invasion, A.D. 714. The last (called Mosarabic, from its employment while Spain was under the Moors) was originally printed, though not in a very correct form,²⁰ by the celebrated Ximenes, A.D. 1500. The ancient Liturgy of Gaul is preserved under various forms, three of which were published originally by Thomasius, as the Gothic, Francic, and Gallican Missals.²¹ These names indicate the localities, in which Liturgies, which bear them, were severally employed. "The old Liturgy in the South of France was called

²⁰ "Lesleus Pref. Miss. Mosarab. Sec. vii. shows what portions of the Mosarabic Liturgy and Missal were added in the time of Ximenes, and during the Middle Ages."—*Paglier's Orig. Lit.* i. 172. The Mosarabic Liturgy occurs in Mr. Neale's Tetralogia, and a translation of it in his Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church.

²¹ It is a peculiarity of the Gallic and Spanish Liturgies, that the subsidiary parts of the service, which admit of variation, are repeated under a great variety of forms, while those which are essential, and therefore unvaried, are rarely written at length, but are commonly referred to by their headings, as though the Priest was designed to repeat them from memory. In the Missale Gothicum the Canon, or order of Consecration, as it is called, nowhere occurs at length, though its separate parts are referred to perpetually. But we may learn what the whole Canon was both from the Missale Francorum, in which it occurs (No. xxiii.), and also from an account of the Service by Germanus, Bishop of Paris, written probably in the sixth century (Mabillon's *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, vol. v. p. 90). Both of them show the Gallic Liturgy to have agreed in all essential points with the forms which prevailed in other countries.

Gothic," says Mone,²² "because the West Goths possessed the country for a long time, and gave it the name of Gothia : the Liturgy of Central Gaul was called Gallic ; that of its northern portion Francic, because used in the time of the Francic ascendancy. But all these are Gallic Liturgies. The title 'Gothic' is not a correct one, because there is nothing Gothic in the Liturgy, it would more properly be called Celtic, for the south and centre of France were known, even in the fifth century, by the names of Celtica and Gallia." . . . "The Mozarabic Liturgy, too, would be more correctly designated as the Spanish."

It is a ground for attributing high antiquity both to the Spanish and Gothic Liturgies, that they show no signs of having been either influenced by the doctrinal²³ errors of the Arian Goths, nor yet by those ritual arrangements, which their connexion with Constantinople²⁴ might have suggested. Hence it is probable that these formularies must have been of earlier date than the Gothic invasion at the beginning of the fifth century. It has been seen how much higher antiquity Mone claims for the Rituals which he publishes. So much can be said with certainty, that the early liturgies of Gaul and Spain may be discriminated from those of other countries, not only by their language,²⁵ but by various most marked peculiarities of arrange-

²² Mone's *Messen*. p. 1.

²³ *Id.* p. 2.

²⁴ Palmer's *Origines*, vol. i. 170. Neale's *Tetralogia*, Pref. p. xxvii.

²⁵ On the Provincial Forms of Latin, vide Mone, p. 49.

ment; so that their agreement in fundamentals with other ancient liturgies, the date of which can be precisely fixed, swells the amount of their common authority. For it contributes to prove that the "original forms from which all the liturgies in the world have been taken, resemble one another too much to have grown up independently, and too little to have been copied from one another."²⁶

We have proof, then, what was the mode of worship in the Nicene age. Even if the Palimpsests should not possess the full antiquity assigned to them, yet historical evidence determines what was the Liturgy by which St. Leo consecrated, and which was commented upon by St. Cyril. And the accordance of the Fathers of the Nicene age in such a ritual, enables us to ascend a step higher, and to ascribe it with great probability to the Apostles themselves, or to their immediate successors. For how came the liturgies of various Churches to present that admixture of variety and accordance, by which they are characterized? How came the Bishops of such distant countries, when they met at the first great Christian assembly at Nice, to display such unanimity in their modes of worship? We know from history²⁷ that when they met on such public occasions, their custom was to solemnize the sacred mysteries; yet there is not an indication that any of them expressed

²⁶ See the excellent paper on "the Antiquity of the Existing Liturgies."—*Tracts for the Times*, No. 63.

²⁷ Vide Eusebius's account of the Council held on occasion of the Dedication of a Church at Jerusalem.—*Life of Constantine*, iv. 45.

surprise or dissatisfaction at the usage of their brethren. This could hardly have been the case, unless their services had been derived from a common origin. Yet in whom can that origin be found, save in the Holy Apostles, or in those their immediate successors, by whom the great Churches of Christendom had been founded? So that the union of accordance and variety which is apparent in the liturgies of the Nicene age—accordance in all fundamental features: variety in minor details—enables us to determine what were the general features of the Church's worship in the age which immediately followed the Apostles.

Secondly—So much for the antiquity of the ancient Liturgies: the next question is their number. And this likewise is a point of considerable importance. For it must be remembered that (with the exception of a few baptismal offices), there exist no traces of any other public formularies. A few prayers remain as the composition of individuals, but the consecration of the Holy Eucharist was the only thing (so far as we know) for which the early Church thought it necessary to provide a formal ritual by public authority. Hence we may infer the great weight which it attached to this action. And it is not immaterial to observe the variety of forms into which each Liturgical Type speedily multiplied itself—a variety which, without being incompatible with their common origin, shows the amount of thought and attention which

they early received. For, first, we have the Liturgy of Jerusalem, with its forty derivative Syriac forms, together with those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, which bear a certain relation to it, and are themselves illustrated by the Armenian and the three Nestorian Liturgies. Next we have the Liturgy of Alexandria, the authenticity of which is witnessed by the three Coptic and the ten Ethiopic Liturgies. Then comes that of Rome and its related Ambrosian Liturgy. Finally, we have the Spanish Liturgy; and the Gallic, published in four shapes by Muratori, and in another by Mone. Thus we have sixty-two Eastern, and at least eight Western Liturgies. Indeed, were the different forms under which the Gallic recensions occur to be counted as different liturgies, the number of the whole would exceed one hundred.

Thirdly—Now this leads to the third subject of inquiry, what is the conclusion to which these various Liturgies conduct. For no doubt their number is a most material consideration in any argument which is based upon their consent. It may be readily admitted, not only that single expressions, but that important usages and prayers may have been subsequently introduced into them. Thus we can refer the wide employment of the word *ἁποσυστος* to the first, that of *θεοτοκος* to the third general Council. In like manner we have an account of the introduction of the Cherubic²⁸ hymn

²⁸ Vide Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 131, and Palmer's *Origen*, i. 24.

into the Church of Constantinople in the time of Justin. But it is not possible, considering this vast number of independent offices, that the same expressions should have been accidentally introduced into all; and still less that they could all have agreed in attaching to the same usages that peculiar importance, which we see to have been assigned to them. For that which is found to be the essential characteristic of all ancient Liturgies—the very purpose, which not only speaks in their individual expressions, but gives shape and consistency to their whole arrangements—is that they represent a certain transaction, a certain course of events, of which the crisis and consummation is that which is *done* in respect to the sacred elements themselves, with a view of giving to them their character and importance.

We have every variety, therefore, in the initiatory parts of the service, but as soon as we come to the repetition of the words of Institution, we find the most striking sameness of expression. The multiplied introductions of the Spanish and Gallic forms fall back into the appointed canon or order, so soon as the solemn words recur, “who in the same night in which He suffered” [Qui pridie quam pateretur, &c.]. Throughout all Churches founded by the Apostles, the exact repetition of those words which Our Lord had originally uttered, were supposed essential to the consecration of the Eucharist. In all Liturgies, with the smallest pos-

sible exception, they are found to be identical. This proceeds upon the principle which is explained in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, that the real minister in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist is Christ Himself.²⁹ The victim is identical with the priest. "Thou art the thing offered and the offerer."³⁰ Such is the doctrine which is written no less clearly in the whole ritual, than in the individual expressions of the ancient writers. For why this scrupulous care to repeat³¹ the exact words of Our Lord, unless some peculiar effect was dependent upon the action? It proceeds upon the notion, which St. Paul authorizes, that the Holy Eucharist is a perpetuation of Our Lord's Passion, wherein that great event, on which the salvation of mankind wholly depends, is continually pleaded before God. "As often as ye

²⁹ Considering the general character of Luther's doctrine, it might have been expected that he would have admitted the reality of consecration, and probably he would have done so, if to recognise the priestly commission had not been its necessary result. The high Lutheran party, who drew up the Formula Concordiæ in 1580, ordered the repetition of Our Lord's words of consecration, "ut elementa panis et vini ad hunc sacramentum . . . sanctificentur seu benedicantur."—*Art. 7*, p. 749. The effect of the omission may be seen in the gradual dying out of high views respecting the Holy Eucharist among the Lutherans. But, that Luther's own feelings on this subject harmonized with the ancient system, was shown when he was brought into collision with Zuinglius in the conference at Marburg. "He did not teach, he said, that *men* by their word could bring Christ's Body into the bread. Verba non nostra, sed Christi sunt: Facite, &c. Per hoc verbum facit, ut manus sacerdotis sit manus Christi. Os non est meum, lingua non est mea, sed Christi, though I be knave or cheat."—*Collin in Hospinian*, pt. ii. p. 124, as cited by *Ebrard*, vol. ii. p. 322. Ebrard would understand the last words, "ich sey ein bub oder schalk," as though Luther meant, "otherwise I am a knave." But they have surely a similar force to the statement in our 26th Article. The consecration is effectual, because wrought by Christ, though the minister may be an unbeliever. Luther repeats the same statement, *Hospinian*, vol. ii., p. 127: "Wenn die wort über das Brot gesprochen werden, so ist der leib da, wie böss der sey der sie spricht."

³⁰ "σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος."—*Goar*, p. 72.

³¹ Hence in the English canon, as Renaudot observes, the words of Institution are ordered to be repeated, if the consecrated elements are found not to be sufficient for the communicants.—*Dissert.* vol. i. p. xiii.

eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come."

Now this crowning mystery of the Gospel was commenced by Our Lord Himself, when He gave Himself, as their spiritual sustenance, to His Apostles. His words, if taken literally, imply that the oblation which He had assumed our nature to present, was already commenced. "This is My Body, which *is* given for you!" "This cup is the New Testament in My Blood, which *is* shed for you." And if from the literal force of the words themselves, we turn to the Church's comprehension of them, we find it affirmed both that Christ on that occasion³² instituted the Priesthood of Melchisedec, and that He then bestowed Himself as the sustenance of His brethren, "Who is carried," says St. Austin, "in his own hands? In the hands of others a man can be carried, but not in his own. How this could be understood literally of David we do not find: but how it can be understood of Christ we do find. For Christ was carried in His own hands, when commending His own body He said, this is My Body. For he bore that body in His own hands."³³ The holy words of Our Lord then had begun that work, which was to be accomplished by the unholy hands of others. It was commenced in the upper chamber, but consummated on the cross. And

³² "Christus . . . obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech obtulerat, id est panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem." And he goes on to say, "Christum oilerre oportebat circa vesperam diei, &c."—*Cyprian Epist.* 63. 4, 16. p. 101, 104. (Paris, 1666.)

³³ In Psalmum xxxiii. Enarratio, i., sec. 10.

that which Our Lord began to do by His own words when He was upon earth, He still continues to do, through the ministry of His servants, now that He has ascended into heaven. The commission given to His Apostles was to represent Himself. This commission they delivered to their successors, the bishops throughout the world. From them have all priests received like authority. So that the action which they severally perform is not their own action, but the perpetuation of that priesthood of Melchisedek, which their Great Head was pleased to undertake. This is well expressed by an Eastern writer quoted by Renaudot: "The priest says the same words which Our Lord spoke in the Upper Chamber when He framed that mystery; that it might be known that it is Christ Himself, who, through the Father's will, and the operation of the Holy Ghost, sanctifies the offering which is placed upon the altar. Christ does so through the agency of the priest who pronounces the words. For not he who ministers, but He who is invoked, is Himself the consecrator."³⁴

To this principle, then, the ancient Church bore witness, not only by its words, but still more by its actions. The care with which the words of consecration were repeated, implied a belief that they were essential to the validity of some great action. And if so, it must have been this action itself, and that with which it was conversant, on which the

³⁴ Dionysius Barsalibi in Renaudot, vol. ii., p. 84.

value of the ordinance depended. Its importance must have rested, not merely on a consideration of the Giver or receiver, but likewise on the worth of the thing received. The gift conferred in and through the elements themselves must have been the thing regarded. Nothing renders this more apparent than a comparison of the ancient forms with any of those which were introduced under the influence of Zuinglius or Calvin. In the ancient Liturgies the words of Consecration were quoted literally, and not in the way of narration: they were made part of a prayer, and the people were enjoined to answer, Amen. But in the Calvinistic formularies this prayer is changed into a sermon; and instead of a mystical action addressed to God, we have a narration for the instruction of the congregation. Thus in the service employed in the Palatinate,³⁵ after a discourse on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, in which the hearers are informed what Our Lord said and did at the Paschal Supper, the minister is directed to conclude, "From this institution of the Holy Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ, *we see* that He directs our belief and confidence to His perfect offering once made on the cross," &c.

Here is an example of that which Ebrard affirms to be true of all Protestant formularies, that "the consecration has only a declaratory, and no operative meaning."³⁶ And the belief of the ancient Church,

³⁵ This is taken from the "Chur-Pfalzische Kirchen-Ordnung in anno 1611 publicirt." Vide Sammlung Evangelisch-Lutherisch und Reformirter Kirchen-Ordnungen.—Züllichau, 1738, vol. ii., p. 928.

³⁶ Dogma von H. Abendmahl, sec. xlv., vol. ii., p. 794.

namely, that the words of consecration were *effective* and not *exegetical*, is rendered more striking by the contrast. They were not recited to the people for their information, but pleaded before God for the attainment of the promise. The people were not to listen to them only because they were words of instruction; but to say *Amen* to them, because they were words of power. So that here lies the wide difference between the systems which we have been comparing. According to the modern notion, nothing was really *transacted* in the Holy Eucharist, but the people were taught what God might please to do through some other channel, or what they might attain through their own faith. The benefit of the ordinance was supposed to turn on considerations drawn either from the Giver or the receiver, not from the thing itself. But because the ancient Church believed that a gift was bestowed in the Holy Eucharist itself, therefore those acts, on which the consecration was dependent, received the whole weight of its attention.

It was stated that all ancient liturgies, with the very smallest exception, repeat the precise words of consecration, supposing that their exact repetition is essential, because they are effective and not merely declaratory. The only exception would seem to be found in some copies of certain Syriac Monophysite Liturgies. It can hardly be supposed, as Renaudot³⁷ conceives, that the omission which

³⁷ Renaudot, vol. ii. p. 83, 84.

is observable in these liturgies has arisen from negligence, or because those well-known words which were always employed were repeated from memory, inasmuch as the Institution appears to be really narrated, but in an imperfect and abbreviated³⁸ form. Of the three liturgies to which this remark replies, that of Xystus, the 2nd of St. Peter, and that of Barsalibi,³⁹ the two first are given by Renaudot from other authorities, in a more perfect⁴⁰ form; that of Barsalibi⁴¹ he seems to have found incurable. But however singular and censurable may be these deviations from the usual rule, they rest upon a principle which tends to corroborate the present argument. For it can scarcely be doubted that the peculiarity which distinguishes these few (and comparatively modern) Monophysite Liturgies, results from the great stress which they lay on another part of the liturgic office, the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

This rite is made so prominent in the Syrian Liturgies, that they have been supposed⁴² to imply

³⁸ This is the distinction between these liturgies, and that of St. Adaeus and St. Maris (*Renaudot*, ii. 593.); in which the words of Institution are altogether omitted. Renaudot supposed this to arise from a defect in the ancient manuscript from which he printed. Mr. Neale refers to another manuscript in the British Museum. (*Neale's Hist. of Eastern Church*, i. 483.) But this is not only of very modern date, but it contains a mark, implying that the words of consecration should be supplied verbally. A more important point which he mentions, is that the Nestorians were charged with the omission. (*Ib.* p. 485.) Yet if this omission had existed anciently in the Liturgy of St. Adaeus, how could the words of Institution appear in the two later Nestorian Liturgies, those of Theodore, and of Nestorius? For the doctrinal peculiarities of the Nestorians would account for the omission of these words in the one case, but not for their insertion in the other; since the tendency of their heresy was to diminish the reverence felt towards Our Lord's Human Body.

³⁹ Renaudot, ii. p. 82. ⁴⁰ Vol. ii. p. 135, and p. 156. ⁴¹ Vol. ii. p. 450.

⁴² By Richard Simon, in his notes to the "*Itinerarium Montis Libani*."—Vide *Renaudot*, vol. ii. p. 83.

that it is the sole principle of consecration, independently of the repetition of the words of Institution. It will be shown in the tenth chapter that the invocation of the Holy Ghost is not incompatible with the ancient view of the importance of the words of Institution: but it is sufficient to say that the weight attached to the elements themselves, and consequently the reality of the gift which is bestowed in them, is more clearly brought out by this part of the form of consecration than even by the other. For the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, which occurs in all ancient liturgies except the Roman, particularizes commonly the elements themselves as the object for which it asks a blessing, and in numerous cases specifies the change of the elements as the especial blessing solicited. Thus, in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, we read, "Send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us, and on these prepared gifts, . . . and make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, . . . and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, . . . changing them by Thy Holy Ghost." In like manner the Armenian Liturgy: "We beseech Thee, O good God, that Thou wouldest send down upon us, and upon the offering which is before us, Thy Holy consubstantial Spirit. Bless this bread, so as to make it the Body of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Bless that which is in this cup, so as to make it truly the Blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Bless this bread and wine, so as to make them truly the Body

and Blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Ghost."⁴³

The most ancient of all liturgies, that of St. James, prays in like manner: "Send upon us, and upon these proposed gifts, Thy most Holy Ghost, . . . that coming upon them with His holy, and good, and glorious presence, He may hallow and may make this bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ."⁴⁴ Just similar is the language of the Gallic Liturgies: "We pray Thee, O Omnipotent Father, that Thou wouldest pour the Spirit of sanctification upon these elements, placed upon Thy altar, that by the transfusion of the celestial and invisible sacrament, this bread may be changed into flesh, and this cup translated into blood, that it may be wholly grace, and may be a medicine to those who receive it."⁴⁵ Now all these passages refer to the elements themselves, as the especial object of the Spirit's influence, and therefore contemplate the gift actually bestowed, as the thing of value in the transaction. Here, again, the full force of the ancient expressions will be best appreciated by comparing them with those of the Calvinistic school. The following passage in the *Kirchen-Ordnung* of the Palatinate appears to be designed to correspond with the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost in the ancient liturgies.

⁴³ Neale's Hist. of Eastern Church, vol. i. p. 578.

⁴⁴ Neale, p. 575.

⁴⁵ Mone's Messen. p. 21.

“In order that we now, beloved in the Lord, may be fed by Christ with the true bread from heaven, let us not fix our hearts on the outward bread and wine, but raise up our hearts and faith above themselves to the heaven where Christ Jesus is an intercessor at the right hand of His heavenly Father; there let us exhibit for ourselves the articles of our Christian faith, and not doubt that as truly as we receive the holy bread and drink in His remembrance, He will feed our souls through the working of the Holy Ghost with His Body, and make them drink of His Blood.” ⁴⁶

Here then we see the exact contrast between the ancient and modern services. The first suppose Christ to descend through the agency of His Spirit upon earth: the last suppose men to ascend through the action of their spirits into heaven. In the first, Christ is supposed to bestow an actual gift, which men may either accept or reject, and which is equally bestowed upon all. According to the last, no gift at all is bestowed through the ordinance itself; it is only an emblem of the general good-will of the great Spiritual Being.

Thus the Strasburg Kirchen-Ordnung, A.D. 1598 (*p.* 167), after the words of Institution have been read to the people, proceeds: “This is our Redeemer’s and Saviour’s own word, which will fitly be believed by us, whom He has now thought worthy and sanctified, so as to be able to come to Him with fruit.” Here are both parts of the Calvinistic system—the Holy Eucharist is not supposed to communicate a gift, but to bear witness to the general purpose of the Supreme Being: a purpose which, according to Calvin, is founded upon the arbitrary appointment

⁴⁶ Sammlung Kirchen-Ordnungen, vol. ii. p. 930.

by which His favourites have previously been selected. But the ancient Church supposed a positive gift to be bestowed through the consecrated elements—a gift by which all receivers might profit, though its benefit would be lost by those who received it unworthily. It supposed this gift to possess a value irrespective of the receiver, and which, therefore, was alike to all. And it showed its belief in the reality of this gift, as well by affirming that the right to consecrate was a specific trust, committed by Our Lord to His appointed representatives, as by that solemn ritual which it was wont to employ in the service of consecration.

II. So much respecting the ancient liturgies, and the proofs which they afford, that the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed through the elements. We now come to the next head of arguments—the direct statements of ancient writers, that the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist depends upon the change which consecration effects in the elements. From which it would seem to be a necessary inference, that it is through the elements themselves that the benefit conveyed in this ordinance is communicated.

The language of ancient writers on this subject is less uniformly explicit seemingly than it would be, because their habitual unwillingness to expose sacred subjects to the profaneness of the heathen, restricted the express mention of that to which they allude. Hence the continual recurrence of such

expressions as those used by St. Augustin⁴⁷ and St. Chrysostom—"the faithful will know what I mean," "the initiated will comprehend what is intended,"—when they have occasion to refer to the Holy Eucharist. Expressions of this kind are found in Origen,⁴⁸ whose Homilies are the earliest which have been preserved. There were four writers however in the early Church, who were led into further detail, by the circumstance of their addressing Catechetical Lectures to those who were recently baptized. In this case those grounds for reserve did not exist, which interfered with the freedom⁴⁹ of more public addresses. In the Catechetical Lectures, therefore, of St. Ambrose, St. Cyril, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. Gaudentius, we find express statements of the change which consecration was supposed to make in the Holy Elements. So forcible are their expressions, that it is necessary to add, by way of caution, that they must not be supposed to have admitted any *carnal* presence of Christ, *i. e.*, any such presence as that He could be an object to the senses.

Let us begin with St. Ambrose, who in his lectures, "De Mysteriis," professes to explain those things to the baptized,⁵⁰ which before baptism it

⁴⁷ "Nesciant Catechumeni quid accipiant Christiani."—*In Joan. Trac.* xi. 4.

⁴⁸ Vide Hom. in Levit. ix. 10; vol. ii., p. 244, and xiii. 3, p. 255.

⁴⁹ The reality of this feeling is shown by the caution prefixed to St. Cyril's Lectures. "These Catechetical Lectures thou mayest put into the hands of candidates for baptism, and of baptized believers, but by no means of Catechumens, nor of any others, who are not Christians; as thou shalt answer to the Lord."—*Oxford Transl.* p. 9. Of course the full Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist is to be found in such works as the Homilies which St. Chrysostom addressed to Christians.

⁵⁰ "Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum

would have been a profanation to have disclosed to them. Now such a mode of speaking is wholly inconsistent with that view of things, which would strip the Holy Eucharist of its mystery. It would have been strange language to have been adopted needlessly by the Fathers, since they had to justify themselves against the charge of Thyestian banquets on the flesh of children—a charge which this reserve on their part had a tendency to encourage. St. Ambrose, then, after speaking of the regenerating force of Baptism, goes on to affirm that in the Holy Eucharist is vouchsafed the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood.

"You may perhaps say, that which I see is something different: how do you prove to me that I receive the Body of Christ? This is what it remains for me to prove. What examples, therefore, am I to use? Let me prove that this is not that which nature has made it, but that which the benediction has consecrated it to be: and that the force of the benediction is greater than that of nature, because by the benediction nature herself is changed."⁵¹

And then, after citing various instances from the Old Testament, in which an external element had been made the means of conferring an inward gift, and of the influence exercised by the one upon the other, ending with the mystery of the Incarnation, he concludes,

"Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself proclaims, *this is My Body*. Before the sacred words of benediction another species is named, after consecration the Body is implied. He Himself speaks of His Blood. Before consecration it is spoken of as another thing. After consecration it is named Blood. And you" (*i. e.*

rationem edere: quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandum nondum initiatis, prodidisse, potius quam edidisse aestimaremur."—*De Mysteriis*, i. 2.

⁵¹ De Mysteriis, ix. 50.

the receiver) "say Amen—that is, it is true. What your mouth expresses, let your inner mind confess—feel what you say."⁵²

The Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem continue, as in ancient days, to be regarded by the Eastern Church as a text-book for the instruction of the young. In his third Mystagogical Catechism he says,

"The bread in the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is mere bread no longer, but the Body of Christ."⁵³

And in the fourth,

"Contemplate therefore the bread and wine not as bare elements, for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the Body and Blood of Christ; for though sense suggests this to thee, let faith stablish thee. Judge not the matter from taste, but from faith be fully assured without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed the Body and Blood of Christ."⁵⁴

Therefore he tells persons to be

"Fully persuaded, that what seems bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the Body of Christ; and that what seems wine is not wine, though the taste will have it so, but the Blood of Christ."⁵⁵

St. Gregory Nyssen, in his Catechetical Discourse, speaks of the Human Body of Our Lord as exalted by Personal union with Deity, and brings this forward

⁵² "Ante benedictionem verborum celestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur." "Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur."—*De Mysticiis*, ix. 54. There is a passage in the "De Sacramentis" iv. 5, 23, which expresses the same truth in still more concise words. But it is not quoted in the text, because though admitted to be of great antiquity, it has been disputed whether this treatise is by St. Ambrose, "Antequam consecratur, panis est: ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi." With this may be compared the words of St. Caesarius of Arles: "Quando benedicendæ verbis celestibus creaturæ sacris altaribus imponuntur, antequam invocatione sancti nominis consecrentur, substantia illic est panis et vini; post verba autem Christi corpus et sanguis Christi. Quid autem mirum est, si ea, quæ verbo potuit creare, possit verbo creata convertere?"—*Homilia* vii. *De Paschate Bib. Pat.* viii. p. 826.

⁵³ Oxford Translation, p. 268.

⁵⁴ Oxford Translation, p. 271.

⁵⁵ Oxford Translation, p. 272.

as illustrative of the change which befalls the sacred elements.

"With reason therefore do we believe that the bread, which is now sanctified by the word of God, is transformed into the Body of God the Word. For that" (natural) "Body" (of our Lord's) "was in effect bread" [*i. e.*, as he has explained before, bread had been the food by which it had been nourished]. "But it was sanctified by the indwelling of the Word, which tabernacled in our flesh."

This process, then, he compares with the Holy Eucharist.

"For there too the bread, as the Apostle says, is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, so that it does not pass into the Body of the Word by the process of eating and drinking, but is transformed at once into Body by a word, as the Word expressed it, saying, 'this is My Body.'" ⁵⁶

In this manner, he says,

"Humanity is made partaker of the Divine Nature through communion with Deity."

And he sums up with the statement, that God

"Bestows these gifts, by changing the nature of the apparent elements into that" [*i. e.*, the immortal] "by the power of the benediction." ⁵⁷

St. Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia, speaks no less distinctly than his metropolitan, St. Ambrose.

"The Creator and Lord of nature, who produces bread from the earth, of bread again (because it is within His power, and His promise), makes His own body: and He who made wine of water, of wine makes His blood." ⁵⁸

And again :

"The hereditary gift of the New Testament, is that sacrifice

⁵⁶ St. Greg. Nyss. Cat. Orat. 39, vol. iii. p. 104. The true text of this passage, as cited by Theorian, is given, Maio, Nova Collectio, vi., 370.

⁵⁷ "τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ διδωσι τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας ὀυνάμει, πρὸς ἑκεῖνο μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν."—*Id.* p. 105.

⁵⁸ "Ipse naturarum Creator et dominus, qui producit de terrâ panem, de pane rursus (quâ et potest et promisit), efficit proprium corpus: et qui de aqua vinum fecit, et de vino sanguinem suum."—*Gaudentius ad Neophytos, Bib. Pat. Mar.* v. 946.

which on the night that He was betrayed to be crucified, He left as the pledge of His presence. This is that *viaticum* for our way, by which we are nourished in this journey of life, until departing from this world, we come to Him; by reason of which the same Lord said, 'Unless ye eat My flesh, and drink My blood, ye have no life in you.' For He wished that His benefits should continue among us; He wished that through the image of His own Passion our souls should be always sanctified by His precious blood. He orders, therefore, His faithful disciples, whom He appointed also the first priests of His Church, to solemnize perpetually those mysteries of eternal life, which it is necessary that all priests, throughout every Church of the whole world, should celebrate till Christ comes again from heaven. This was done, that we, the priests, and the whole body of the faithful, having the representation of Christ's Passion daily before our eyes, carrying it in our hands, and receiving it in our mouths, and bosoms, might be possessed with an indelible memorial of our redemption, and might obtain a sweet medicine and perpetual defence against the venom of the devil. As the Holy Spirit exhorts, 'O taste and see how sweet the Lord is.'⁵⁹

III. These passages, from four distinguished bishops of the fourth Century, show us the instruction which the Primitive Church gave to the young, when she brought them to the Holy Eucharist. It was clearly supposed that the elements themselves underwent some change, by virtue of Our Lord's words, and of the power of the Holy Ghost; and that through the consecration thus conferred upon them, they became the media of a certain mysterious benefit. And the same thing is manifest, in the third place, from the usages of the Church. It appears to have been a custom from the very first for bishops to send the consecrated elements to one another, as a sign of intercommunion. This is mentioned as an ancient usage,

⁵⁹ Gaudentius ubi supra, p. 947.

by St. Irenæus⁶⁰ (in his letter to Victor), towards the end of the second century. Here we see the same purpose, which is explained by Pope Innocent,⁶¹ in the fourth century; the consecrated elements, he says, were sent from the Cathedral to the dependent churches of the city, in order that all might feel themselves bound together in one communion. But what would have been the meaning of this, unless the elements had been supposed to gain some especial sanctity by consecration? Again, we know that, so early as the middle of the second century, it was customary for the deacons to carry the consecrated elements⁶² to those who were debarred from attending public worship. This clearly supposes that the elements themselves conveyed some especial gift. Neither did anything exercise a larger influence upon the practice of the Church, than the notion that the elements were not only beneficial, if they were received at the time of consecration, but that by virtue of their consecration they continued to be the medium of conveying all those benefits, which were to be obtained by the devout participant. Thus was there a means provided, whereby those who were precluded from taking part in the public ritual, might yet partake in that communion with Christ which it was appointed to convey. Whether such a custom was sanctioned by the Apostles

⁶⁰ Eusebius, v. 24.

⁶¹ Letter to Decentius, sec. v. Harduin, i. 997.

⁶² Justin Martyr, Apol. i. sec. lxv. p. 83.

themselves, or whether it was only the result which the Church had drawn from their principles, it is clear that before the end of the second century, it was usual for the faithful to carry home with them a portion of the sacred elements, the partaking of which, before other food, was to be the consecrating principle of their daily life. This custom, subsequently abolished, when altered circumstances rendered it liable to abuse, is noticed by Tertullian,⁶³ as universally prevalent, in the second, and by St. Cyprian⁶⁴ in the third centuries. Thus were persons who were debarred from joining in Church offices in times of persecution, or who lived as hermits in the wilderness, enabled to partake of the daily communion. All the solitaries in the desert, St. Basil⁶⁵ tells us, were accustomed in his time to retain the consecrated elements in their cells; and the same, he says, was the usage in Egypt, where the elements, having been once consecrated by a priest, were afterwards administered to themselves by the faithful. In the next age we find St. Cyril of Alexandria speaking in strong terms of censure respecting those who doubted the permanent sacredness with which the consecrated elements were invested. "I hear that some persons say that the mystical Eucharist is inefficacious, if a part of it be left to

⁶³ "Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes."—*Tertullian ad Uxorē*, ii. 5. Vide also *De Oratione*, 14. Tertullian's mention of this custom, as a sufficient reason why a Christian woman should not marry a heathen, shows that it must have been generally practised by Christian women.

⁶⁴ St. Cyprian *De Lapsis*, p. 176.

⁶⁵ St. Basil, Ep. 93.

another day. They must be mad to say so. For Christ is not altered, neither will His sacred Body be changed; but the power of the blessing, and the life-giving grace, is permanent in it.”⁶⁶ That the same was the case in other localities we learn from St. Jerome,⁶⁷ as well as from St. Gregory⁶⁸ Nazianzen, who describes the domestic altar, where the Holy Eucharist was reserved by his sister Gorgonia.

This practice allied itself with the usage of retaining the consecrated elements in the Church, either that the Holy Eucharist might be in readiness to carry to the sick, or for the purpose of administering it on the next occasion to the people. The latter was especially the case in Lent, when it was not usual, at least in the Eastern Church, to consecrate the elements on any days but Saturday and Sunday. Such was the direction given by the 49th canon of the Council of Laodiceæ,⁶⁹ which was followed up by the order of the Council in Trullo,⁷⁰ still observed in the Greek Church,⁷¹ that in Lent the “mass of the Pre-sanctified,” as it was called, should be solemnized except on Saturday, Sunday, and the Feast of the Annunciation. In the Church of Rome, the two days preceding Easter Sunday were the only ones on which the Holy Eucharist was not conse-

⁶⁶ *Epistola ad Calosyrium*, vol. vi., p. 365.

⁶⁷ *Epistola*, 30. *Ad Pammachium*, vol. iv., part ii., p. 239.

⁶⁸ *Oratio Undecima*, vol. i. 186. (Paris, 1630.)

⁶⁹ Harduin, i. 730.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 1682.

⁷¹ The office of the Pre-sanctified, as at present used in the Greek Church, is given by Mr. Neale, *Introduction*, p. 713.

crated, and on which, therefore, it was necessary to administer that which had been reserved from a previous service. A custom prevailed in the West, in the sixth century, which shows another purpose which the reservation of the elements was designed to answer. When the elements were to be consecrated, it was usual, it seems, to join with them a portion of that which had been consecrated on a previous day, as though by way of asserting the oneness and perpetuity of the oblation. This custom is noticed in the description of the ancient Gallic Service, by Germanus,⁷² bishop of Paris, composed apparently during the sixth century, as well as by his contemporary, Gregory⁷³ of Tours. Both of them call the vessel in which the sacred elements were preserved, a "Tower:" a name for which Germanus accounts, by supposing that it was designed to represent the rock in which Our Lord's Body was entombed. A description⁷⁴ of the Roman Service, of somewhat similar date, refers to the same custom.

All these circumstances imply that the elements themselves were supposed to gain a sanctity, which made them the means of communicating that gift which was sought for in the Holy Eucharist; and therefore that the blessing was

⁷² "Expositio Brevis Antiquæ Liturgiæ Gallicanæ."—*Mabillon's Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, vol. v. 95.

⁷³ Gregorii Turonensis De Gloria Martyrum, i. 86. "Accepta turre, in qua ministerium Dominici corporis habebatur."—*Bib. Pat. Mar.*, xi. 854.

⁷⁴ Muratorii Liturgia Romana Vetust, ii. p. 979. (It had been originally published by Mabillon.)

believed to be bound up with the thing itself, and not to depend merely upon the coincident action of the parties. A further proof is supplied by the manner in which Christ was asserted to communicate Himself, as a whole, in every portion of the consecrated elements. For though the Holy Eucharist was administered in all Churches under both kinds, until the twelfth century—and the contrary practice was forbidden by Pope Gelasius,⁷⁵ when the Manichæans, who thought the use of wine unlawful, refused to partake of it—yet both kinds were held to communicate one gift, which was supposed to be imparted perfectly through every portion of either element.⁷⁶ It is obvious, then, that the intervention of the elements themselves, was looked to as the appointed means of conveying the blessing. The ancient notion was identical with that which was laid down by the Greek Church at the Council of Jerusalem, A.D. 1672. “We believe that in every portion, even to the minutest subdivision, of the bread and wine after they have been changed, are contained not any separate part of the Body and Blood of the Lord ;

⁷⁵ Pope Gelasius's Command is preserved in the Canon Law. *De Consecratione* Dist. ii. 12. *Comperimus*. That it must have had reference to the case of the Manichæans appears from the explanation given by Pope Leo a few years before. He complains that these heretics, “in sacramentorum communione ita se temperant, ut interdum, ne penitus latere non possint, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiant, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinent,” &c.—*Sermo* xli. *De Quadragesima*, 5. Manichæans are said by Anastasius to have been expelled from Rome in the time of Gelasius.

⁷⁶ “For as St. Paul says, ‘a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,’ so the very smallest portion of the Eucharist [ὀλιγίστη ἐνλογία] transfuses our whole body into itself, and fills us with its own energy ; and thus Christ comes to exist in us, and we in Him.”—*S. Cyril, Alex. in Joan.* vi. 57, vol. iv. p. 365.

but the Body of Christ is always whole, and one in all its parts ; and the Lord Jesus is present in His substance, that is, with His Soul and Divinity, as perfect God, and perfect man."⁷⁷

This doctrine discovers itself in some striking expressions which are found both in the Ambrosian and other ancient liturgies :

"Singuli accipiunt Christum Dominum, et in singulis portionibus totus est ; nec per singulos minuitur, sed integrum se præbet in singulis."⁷⁸

It is dwelt upon likewise by St. Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, in the fifth century, in the course of a comparison between the Holy Eucharist and the distribution of manna.

"The sacred perception of the Eucharist does not depend upon its quantity, but its efficacy. This Body, when the priest distributes it, is as much in the smallest portion, as in the whole. When the congregation of the faithful receives it, as it is fully in all of them, so is it perfectly in each. We may apply to it the Apostle's words, 'he that hath much shall have nothing over, he that hath little shall have no lack.' If we gave the hungry bread to eat, individuals would not receive that which was bestowed upon the whole, but each one must take his individual portion for himself. But, when this bread is taken, individuals receive not less than the collective body. One receives the whole, two receive it, many receive it, without its being diminished ; because the blessing of this sacrament is susceptible of being distributed, but it is not susceptible of being exhausted by distribution."⁷⁹

It was a consequence of this doctrine, that when circumstances debarred men from the regular reception of the elements in both kinds, they were

⁷⁷ This is translated from the Russ version.—*Neale's Introd.* p. 1175. The Greek is in *Harduin*, xi. p. 254.

⁷⁸ Muratorii de Rebus Liturgicis Dissertatio, i. p. 126. Vide Panelius, Liturgicon, vol. i. p. 319.

⁷⁹ Cæsarii Homilia, vii. Bib. Pat. Max., viii. p. 825.

yet believed to receive the whole blessing through that medium which remained to them. The mention of bread only when the Holy Eucharist was received in private houses, leads to the conclusion that it was partaken in that kind⁸⁰ alone. The story of Serapion,⁸¹ as related by Eusebius, shows that this was supposed sufficient in the case of the sick, and from a circumstance recorded by St. Cyprian,⁸² we learn that infants were communicated under the other kind only.

There remains but one thing further to notice respecting the consecrated elements, as evincing the belief that they possessed some positive sacredness; the conduct, namely, which was expected in their recipients. They were every where received fasting; and the custom of rendering them this mark of respect, which had prevailed at least as early as the second century,⁸³ was so universal in the time of St. Augustin (*universa per orbem servat Ecclesia*⁸⁴), that he ascribes it to Apostolic

⁸⁰ Such is the conclusion of Næander, himself an opponent to the practice.—*Kirchen Geschichte*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 705. [Hamburg, 1829.] This appears to have been the case also when the office of the Presanctified was celebrated. The Council of Laodicea speaks only of bread, when it directs the days on which the Holy Eucharist shall be ministered of that which had been previously consecrated. (Canon 49.) The custom of the Greek Church is to minister it with unconsecrated wine.—*Neale's Introduction to History of Greek Church*, p. 718. Leofric's Missal, in the Bodleian, directs, in respect to the service for Good-Friday, "*Feria sexta . . . ingrediuntur diaconi in sacratio, et procedunt cum corpore Domini sine vino consecrato, quod altera die remansit et ponunt super altare,*" &c.—*Fol. 110, Bod. 579.*

⁸¹ Eusebius, vi. 44.

⁸² S. Cyprian de Lapsis, p. 175.

⁸³ Tertullian ad Uxorem, ii. 5. De Corona, iii. S. Cyprian, Ep. 63, 16.

⁸⁴ "Placuit Spiritui-Sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti in os Christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam ceteri cibi. Nam ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur."—*Epistola*, liv. 8. The practice is recommended by Jeremy Taylor, "Do this honour to it, that it be the first food we eat, and the first beverage we drink that day, unless it be in case of sickness, or other great necessity."—*Holy Living*.

authority. The necessity of administering the Holy Eucharist to the sick, renders it impossible to observe this rule where the consecrated elements are not reserved, and hence, perhaps, as well as from the length of the morning service, the comparative disuse of this primitive usage among ourselves. Another pious usage of an analogous kind, was to receive the sacred elements with the hands crossed: and this, likewise, grew to be a rule in the Eastern Church. "Make thy left hand," says St. Cyril,⁸⁵ "as if a throne for thy right, which is on the eve of receiving the King. And having hollowed thy palm, receive the Body of Christ, saying after it, Amen." This practice is referred to by Damascenus,⁸⁶ and was enjoined by the 101st canon of the Council in Trullo.⁸⁷ The communicants were also enjoined to guard lest any portion of the consecrated elements should fall to the ground. This is mentioned as early as by Tertullian;⁸⁸ and St. Cyprian⁸⁹ speaks of the elements which were taken home, as kept with care in some closed repository. "Tell me," says St. Cyril, "if any one gave thee gold dust, wouldest thou not with all precaution keep

⁸⁵ S. Cyril's fifth Mystagogical Catechism, 21. Ox. Trans. p. 279.

⁸⁶ De Fide Orthod. iv. 13, p. 271. The custom prevailed also in the West. "Conjunctis manibus accipiebant." *S. Aug. c. Epist. Parmen.* ii. 13.

⁸⁷ Harduin, iii. 1697.

⁸⁸ Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur."—*Tertull. de Corona*, iii.

⁸⁹ "Cum quedam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire; igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet attingere."—*De Lapsis*, p. 176. St. Cyprian's statement illustrates those of St. Zeno of Verona, l. Trac. 14, 4. "Panis cum ligno datur."—*Galbardi*, vol. v. 128, and also Trac. 5. 8, p. 118.

it fast, being on thy guard against losing any of it, and suffering loss. How much more cautiously then wilt thou observe, that not a crumb falls from thee of what is more precious than gold and precious stones."⁹⁰

In this manner, then, did the ancient Church bear witness to the fact, that in the Holy Eucharist the gift is bestowed through the elements. Such is its commentary on Our Lord's words of Institution, wherein He stated that *This*, which He held in His hands, and on which He had bestowed His blessing, was the medium through which He communicated His gift. The Church bears witness to the effects, and consequently to the reality of consecration, both by its public offices, by the voice of its doctors, and by the usages of its people. The truth of this system was exhibited in the last chapter, by the untenableness of the two rival theories : here we have the voice of authority in behalf of itself.

One word more before we leave this first portion of Our Lord's declaration, and pass from the *Subject* to the *Predicate*, in His sentence of Institution.

How is it possible that those who admit the reality of consecration should deny the efficacy of the elements ? For is it not for this very purpose that they are set apart ? With what intention can

⁹⁰ Fifth Myst. Cat. 21. Ox. Trans. p. 279.

they be consecrated, except that they should be effectual? Why is *this* especial portion separated from the element at large, except to be the medium of a blessing? What other conclusion can reason dictate; for why should they be subjected to this ordinance, unless they are the recipients of its effect?

And as this conclusion has the sanction of reason, so does the authority of all ages witness in its behalf. In this particular do the Fathers of the first centuries agree with the innovators of the last. The former ascribed efficacy to the elements, because they believed the validity of consecration: the latter deny it, because the validity of consecration is the very conclusion from which they wish to escape. Both allow, then, that consecration and the efficacy of the elements must stand together. Neither is it possible to suppose that those who reject one, can seriously intend to uphold the other. Those who deny that a gift is communicated through the elements, cannot really believe the validity of consecration. They may be willing to retain the rite, as a harmless tribute to ancient usage, but it is impossible that they should believe in the reality of consecration, unless they believe in its results. If they are content to retain the pregnant expressions of the early Church, it is with the understanding that they mean nothing. Yet what a mockery is a Priestly commission which confers no powers, and a form of

consecration whereby nothing is made holy ! If these things are real, their consequences should be admitted : if unreal, they had better be discarded. *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi.* But if a certain ritual was ordained by Christ, and handed down by His Apostles, can it be indifferent whether or not it is observed ? As it would be presumptuous to invent, so to abandon it would be impious. And yet either, perhaps, were less heinous guilt, than to retain holy and sublime usages, pregnant with great truths, and associated with the love and devotion of all saints, yet to regard them with the cold contempt, with which men treat the unmeaning and obsolete fashions of a barbarous age.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GIFT BESTOWED IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST IS THE
PRESENCE OF CHRIST.

WE have seen what was the *Subject* spoken of in Our Lord's words of Institution. He was referring not to bread and wine at large, but to the consecrated elements. "*This is My Body.*" We come now to the *Predicate* in His discourse ; to that which He affirmed to be present. "*My Body : My Blood.*" These it was, which He asserted, or predicated of the *Subject*, in the sentence before us. In the present chapter, then, we must inquire what was meant by this *Predicate*, and we shall thus be prepared to pass, in the last place, to the connexion between it and the *Subject*.

Now it is obvious that when Our Lord speaks of "His Body," and "His Blood," He refers to that which depends upon His man's nature. "God is a Spirit," and "a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see *Me* have." If these things can be attributed to Our Lord, it must be because "God was mani-

fest in the flesh." It was that He might make "peace through the Blood of His cross," and reconcile us "in the Body of His flesh," that He vouchsafed to clothe Himself in the humble garb of mortality. He took the manhood into God. And by reason of this circumstance He was able to speak of Himself as possessing those characteristics of man's nature, to which the words of Institution refer. "A Body hast thou prepared for Me."

The ancient writers are express in pointing out that this reference of Our Lord to His Body, and His Blood, is a reference to His Human nature. "What is it," asks St. Cyril, which we eat, "His Godhead, or His Flesh?"¹ And St. Athanasius; "it was His Body, through which He delivered to us the mystery, when He said, this is My Body, which is for your sakes; and this is the Blood of the New, and not the Old Covenant, which is shed for you. Now Deity has neither body nor blood."²

But though the mention of Our Lord's Body and Blood implies the presence of His man's nature, yet by virtue of that personal union, whereby the manhood was taken into God, it involves the presence of His Godhead also. For since these two natures have been perfectly joined together, never to be divided, in the Person of Christ, it follows that His Godhead must needs participate in some measure in all acts and sufferings, in which His Manhood is concerned. For though it is the law of His nature,

¹ S. Cyril, *Apol. ad. Orientes*, vi. 193. (Paris, 1638.)

² *Apud Theodor. Dial. ii. vide Albertinus*, p. 287.

that His Manhood is not every where present, as is His Godhead—since the first does not partake in that attribute of omnipresence which belongs to the last—yet His Godhead is every where present with His Manhood, and has part in all its actings. Whatsoever was meant therefore by the giving the Body and the Blood of Christ, as by the force of the terms it implied the gift of His Manhood, so by virtue of the Hypostatic Union it involved that of His Godhead also. Whatsoever was done by the Man Christ Jesus, was done by one who consisted not only of soul and body, but of Godhead also; and that which implied the action of His lower, implied likewise that of His higher nature.

When Our Lord, then, spoke of His Body and Blood as bestowed upon His disciples in this sacrament, He must have been understood to imply that He Himself, Godhead, Soul, and Body, was the gift communicated. His Manhood was the medium through which His whole Person was dispensed. "Christ is in that sacrament," says St. Ambrose, "because it is the Body of Christ."³ It is "inquired," says Bishop Taylor, "whether when we say we believe Christ's Body to be *really* in the sacrament, we mean *that Body, that Flesh, that was born of the Virgin Mary*, that was crucified, dead, and buried. I answer, that I know none else that He had or hath; there is but one Body of Christ, natural and glorified; but he that says that Body is glorified

³ De Mysteriis, ix. 58.

which was crucified, says it is the same Body, but not after the same manner: and so it is in the sacrament; we eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ, that was broken and poured forth; for there is no other Body, no other Blood of Christ; but though it is the same which we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner.”⁴

That such was the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, and that Our Lord's words of Institution were to be taken in their simple and natural sense, was the belief of all ancient writers. “The Docetæ abstain from the Eucharist,” says St. Ignatius, “because they do not confess it to be the Flesh of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, which the Father raised up through His mercy.”⁵ “As Jesus Christ, Our Saviour, was made flesh through the word of God, and took flesh and blood for our salvation, so we have been instructed that the food which has been consecrated by His word of prayer . . . is the Flesh and Blood of that Incarnate Jesus.”⁶ “Our flesh,” says Tertullian, “is fed with the Body and Blood of Christ, that our soul, too, may be enriched of God.”⁷ So that the statements of the second century tally exactly with the language of those Liturgic Offices, which (as was shown in the last chapter) exhibit to us the belief of the fourth. “Deliver us from evil, O Lord Jesus Christ. We eat Thy Body, which

⁴ The real Presence of Christ, sec. i. 11.

⁵ Ad Smyrncos, 6.

⁶ Apolog. i. 66.

⁷ De Resurrec., 8.

was crucified for us, and drink Thy sacred Blood, which was shed for us: may Thy sacred Body be made our salvation; and Thy sacred Blood be for the remission of our sins, here and for evermore.”⁸ And these general declarations respecting the Holy Eucharist are associated by St. Cyprian with the original act of Christ, and with His words of Institution. For He it is who is still the agent in this work, through the intervention of His ministers. And “if Jesus Christ, Our Lord and God, is Himself the High Priest of God the Father, and has offered Himself first as a sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done in commemoration of Him, surely that priest truly discharges the office of Christ, who imitates what Christ did; and he then offers in the Church a true and full sacrifice to God the Father, if he begins to offer as he sees that Christ Himself has offered.”⁹

That which Our Lord affirmed to be present then, by the words of Institution, was His own Body and Blood. These were the *Predicates* which He connected with those elements of bread and wine, which He took into His hands and blessed. The nature of the connexion we shall consider presently: that though real it was not carnal: as yet we are concerned with the *Predicates* themselves, that is, with the Body and Blood which He bestowed. We have seen that it was that self-same Body and Blood

⁸ Missale Gothicum. Missa Dominicalis, 80. Mabillon, p. 300. (Paris, 1729.)

⁹ S. Cyprian. ad Cæcil. Ep. 63. 14.

which He had taken of the blessed Virgin, of her substance ; and which so shortly afterwards He offered upon the cross. This it is which forms the link between Him and man's nature ; it was bound by the unalterable tie of personality to Himself ; and as He then gave it Himself to His twelve apostles, so He still communicates it by the ministration of their successors to the faithful, in the Holy Eucharist.

Now this truth has given rise to two objections. The words of Our Lord are no doubt express, and if Scripture is to be taken literally, they admit of no equivocation : but the Rationalist objects, first, that such a thing is impossible ; and secondly, that if not actually impossible, it is yet burthened by such an amount of improbability, as no evidence is able to overcome. Each of these objections requires to be met ; for although nothing short of its impossibility would justify men in departing from the natural meaning of the words of Revelation, yet strong antecedent improbability is found in practice to present an equal obstacle to belief. And it will turn out that the statement of Our Lord in the words of Institution, refers to a fact which is not only possible, but which is in such perfect analogy with all other parts of the Christian scheme, that it presents no greater difficulties than any other mystery of the Gospel.

It is said then, first, that it was impossible that Our Lord could impart to His Disciples that Body

and Blood which pertained to Himself. Such was not, as we have seen, the notion of St. Augustin;¹⁰ he affirms, on the contrary, that Christ was carried in His own hands, and by this fact does he interpret the words of David. And how can the possibility of such a thing be denied, considering the imperfect state of our knowledge respecting physical substances? How can we tell that the very nature of Him whom they saw before them, might not in some unknown manner be communicated to the disciples through that medium which their Master had appointed? "We have no means of knowing," says a writer, who had no wish to vindicate the Primitive Church, "whether the distinction between the material and spiritual world, which is derived from our impressions, has any objective truth; and whether matter and spirit may not be discerned to be of the same nature by higher intelligences. Recent discoveries in physics exhibit to us changes and conditions of bodies, such as the chemical combinations of water, air, and fire, of acids and alkalies, which furnish ground for conjecturing that our ordinary conceptions of matter are defective; and they tell us of powers, like that of magnetism, about which it is uncertain whether they have any material groundwork—any substratum by which they are supported."¹¹

If such are the thoughts which ought naturally to suggest themselves to the minds of men, when

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 64. ¹¹ *Selbstbiographie von K. G. Bretschneider*, p. 350.

they meet with any fact which deviates from the usual order of the universe, how much more might such thoughts be present to the holy apostles, when they considered what that Body was, which was offered to them at the Last Supper? For was it not the self-same Body which they knew to have walked on the sea, and to have been transfigured in the mountain? Was it not that Body which was about to emerge from the unopened tomb, and to enter, the doors being shut, into their assembly? Was it not, in short, the Body of God, which must needs receive new qualities from its relation to that Deity, with which it was personally united? "That the glorified Body of Christ can possess powers and properties beyond those which other bodies are known to possess, was shown," says Kahnis, "before His resurrection, by its walking on the sea; and afterwards, by its entering through closed doors."¹² For must it not have made a wide difference in the capacities of that mortal frame which the apostles saw before them, that as St. Chrysostom says, it was "the Body of the Supreme God, the spotless, the pure, which had held intercourse with that divine nature; the Body through which we are, and live; by which the gates of death have been destroyed, and the bars of heaven been opened?"¹³ As it would be rash, then, considering our imperfect knowledge of those subtile agents by which our

¹² Lehre vom Abendmahle: von K. F. A. Kahnis, p. 373. (Leipzig, 1851.)

¹³ "τὸ τῇ θείᾳ ἐκείνῃ φύσει ὁμιλῆσαν."—*In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom.* 24, vol. x., p. 216.

own bodies are perpetually affected, to deny that there may be other modes of presence than those which are usual and natural, so still more would it have been presumptuous to deny such capacities to the Body of Christ. "For His very human body received great accessions from the fellowship and oneness which it had with the Word. For instead of being mortal, it became immortal, and instead of being carnal, it became spiritual; and whereas it was born of the earth, it passed through the gates of heaven."¹⁴

These are sufficient reasons for saying that it was not impossible, that while Our Lord was present naturally before the eyes of His disciples, He should bestow upon them His Body and Blood in some new and unknown manner, which was above nature. But we must go further, and show that such a thing was not only possible, but probable; not merely that there was nothing in it which their reason was bound to reject, but much by which their religious sympathies ought to have been conciliated.

We must suppose, then, that the Apostles were already partially enlightened respecting that truth, which St. Augustin observes to be the great mystery of the Gospel: "the Christian faith depends, properly speaking, upon a consideration of those two men, through one of whom we were sold under sin, while we are redeemed from sin through the other."

¹⁴ S. Athanasius ad Epictetum, sec. ix. vol. ii. p. 908.

This is nothing more than St. Paul declared: "the first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." Hence it follows, that those gifts, which have their native home in God, are bestowed upon man, so far as he possesses them, through a Mediator. They were the original endowment of man's race, when he was created in God's image, to be his Maker's representative in this lower world. They were forfeited when he lost this high commission, till they were again enshrined in the Second Adam, that more perfect pattern of humanity, in whom the likeness of God was fully set forth. Thus did Christ become the new "beginning of the creation of God." All those treasures which were needed by the whole generation of His brethren, were gathered together as in a fountain in His manhood. For "of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." This is involved in the truth of Our Lord's Mediation, which not only implies that He condescended to be a sacrifice and intercessor on man's behalf towards God, but likewise that He made His Manhood the channel through which the perfections of the Creator extended themselves to the creature. There is "one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus." "Unless the only-begotten had become such as we are (and such as we are He could not have become, save by being born in the flesh of a woman), we could not have been enriched by His wealth." For, as St. Paul writes, "the

Second Adam was not born from the earth like the first, but out of heaven appeared Emmanuel." ¹⁵

That such is the manner in which heavenly gifts have been bestowed upon men, is evident from the statements of Scripture respecting grace. Little, comparatively, is said of it in the Old Testament; and that little is associated with general statements of the influence of the Supreme Being. As we advance to the New Testament, we find that grace is never spoken of in the Gospels, except as associated with the Humanity of God the Son. The Apostles "beheld His glory, the glory, as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." As yet it was gathered together as in a fountain, from which in after-time it was to overflow into the whole body of the Church. At length came the Day of Pentecost, when the Son of Man had received gifts for His brethren. And then we read that the blessing which had dwelt in the natural Body of the Mediator was extended to His Body Mystical, and went down to the skirts of its clothing—"great grace was upon them all."

Now hence it may be seen why the Holy Eucharist is so important, and how it is (as St. Augustin observes) that "no one may say that the road of safety lies in a good life, and the worship of one God, without participation in the Body and Blood of Christ." "For the statement

¹⁵ St. Cyril adversus Nestorium, i. 1, vol. vi. p. 9.

that God 'will have all men to be saved,' is not to be understood as taking effect without a Mediator; and that Mediator is not God, . . . but the Man Christ Jesus."¹⁶ There must be some means, then, by which we must be put into relation with the New Man, even as we have a natural relation to the flesh of the old one; we must be united by grace to Christ, as we were united to Adam by nature. Neither should it surprise us that the processes should present some analogy; that if the poison of the one is transmitted through his flesh, so His flesh should be the medium through which is transmitted the virtue of the other. For that which constitutes our earthly being is not only a separate personality (however derived, and in whatever consisting), but likewise that common nature which we inherit from our original parent. This nature is transmitted, according to the most mysterious of all earthly laws, through the continuity of the flesh. It was not inconsistent, therefore, with the order of the Divine Economy, that Our Lord's Flesh and Blood, mysteriously and supernaturally communicated, should be the principle of a higher life to His brethren.

This, then, was the truth which Our Lord declared in the institution of the Holy Eucharist—a truth which, whether or not fully understood by His Apostles at the moment, was certainly explained in those statements, which the Holy

¹⁶ Epistola 149, 17. vol. ii. p. 510.

Ghost afterwards recalled to their memory, as it was confirmed by the practice and belief of the Church which they established. "Take, eat, this is My Body." What was this but the explanation of that mysterious prediction, "I am the living bread, which came down from heaven; and the bread which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world?" The Holy Eucharist, therefore, is the carrying out of that act which took effect in the Incarnation of the Son of God. So that when the one is thought strange, we shall always find that the other is imperfectly appreciated. It was by the Incarnation that God and man, the finite and the Infinite, were brought into relation; and that the graces which were inherent in the one, were communicated as a gift to the other. Now the medium through which these gifts are extended, is not the Deity, but the Manhood of Christ. "The bread which I will give is *My Flesh*, which I will give for the life of the world."

"If there were any one," says St. Cyril, "who ventured to say that the Word, who is from God, was transformed into a bodily nature, he might justly complain that Our Lord did not rather say, when He gave His Body, 'Take, eat, this is My Godhead, which is broken for you, and this is not My Blood, but My Godhead, which is shed for you.' But since the Word, being God, has made that Body His own, which was taken from a woman, without suffering change or alteration, how could He but say to us, and that truly, 'Take, eat, this is My Body.' For being life, as God, He has made it life, and life-giving."¹⁷

¹⁷ St. Cyril adv. Nest. iv. 7. vol. vi. p. 119.

The ancient writers uniformly asserted the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist to depend upon the fact, that it was the means through which Our Lord's Humanity was communicated. They maintained it to be the appointed medium through which that re-creation of man's nature, which began in Christ, was extended to His brethren. Thus did they understand St. Paul's words, "We are members of His Body, of His flesh, and of His bones." Hence St. Ignatius calls the "one bread" "the medicine of immortality."¹⁸ In the same century St. Irenæus asks; "how can they say that the flesh passes into corruption, and does not partake of life, since it is fed by the Body of the Lord, and by His Blood?"¹⁹ "For as a little leaven, as the Apostle says, leavens the whole lump, so that Body, which has been rendered immortal by God, having become present in ours, transforms and changes the whole of it to itself."²⁰ St. Augustin tells us that it was the ancient custom of the African Christians to call the Holy Eucharist by the name of *life*, by which usage, he says, they referred to Our Lord's declaration, 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven.'²¹

St. Chrysostom, in like manner, says that Our Lord's Humanity has been communicated, as a

¹⁸ Ad Ephesios, 20.

¹⁹ St. Irenæus, iv. x. iii. 5.

²⁰ St. Greg. Nyssen. Cat. Orat. 37, vol. iii. p. 102. Morell (Paris, 1638) reads θανατοῦ, but the Greek and the context require ἀθανασίαν, which is found in the Vatican codex of Theorian (Maio Nova Collec. vol. vi. p. 366), as well as in three manuscripts of St. Gregory in the Bodleian. Baroc. 27 and 108. Cromw. 9.

²¹ "Sacramentum Corporis Christi nihil aliud quam vitam vocant."—*De Pecc. Meritis*, i. 34.

consecrating principle, for the renewal of all mankind. "He gave not simply His own Body ; but because the former nature of the flesh, which was framed out of the earth, had first become deadened by sin, and destitute of life, He brought in, as one may say, another sort of dough and leaven, His own Flesh, by nature indeed the same, but free from sin, and full of life ; and gave to all to partake thereof, that being nourished by this, and laying aside the old dead material, we might be blended together unto eternal life, by means of this table."²² Such was supposed by the primitive Church to be the doctrine revealed in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel ; and St. Cyril, after quoting ten of its most important verses (verse 47 to 57), adds this comment.

"See, then, how He abides in us, and renders us superior to corruption, by introducing Himself, as I said, into our bodies through His own Flesh, which is real food ; whereas that shadow, which was under the law" [*i.e.* *manna*] "and the service, which was connected with it, had no reality. And the principle of this mystery is simple and true, not curiously devised for the service of impiety, but a simple truth. For we believe that the Word, the Son of the Father, having united Himself to the Body born of the Holy Virgin, with a reasonable soul (the union of course being ineffable and mystical), rendered His Body life-giving ; being Himself, as God, the principle of life by nature ; that by making us partakers of Himself, not only in spirit, but in body, He might render us superior to corruption ; and do away, through Himself, the law of sin, which was in our fleshly members, and thus, as it is written, 'condemn sin in the flesh.'"²³

Here I pause to observe that the language of

²² St. Chrysost. on I. Cor. x. 17. Hom. xxiv. 4.

²³ *Adversus Nestorium*, iv. 5, vol. vi. p. 113.

these writers respecting the Holy Eucharist, accounts for the diversity which has been observed to exist between this Sacrament and Holy Baptism. It was shown that the validity of Baptism does not depend upon the consecration of the elements, or the character of the administrator. These considerations affect the decency, but not the reality, of the ordinance. For though Christ is allowed to be present in Baptism by spiritual power, yet His presence is to be sought in the ordinance at large, and not in the elements. So that the symbol employed is never spoken of as gaining, in itself, any relation to the sacred object of which it is fitted to remind men. The washing of water is the means whereby the baptized partake in that purification which was effected by Christ's Blood ; but the water is never spoken of as changed into blood, either in Scripture or ancient authors. On the contrary, the whole element of water is described as consecrated to the mystical washing away of sin.

Now the different rule, which has been shown to prevail in the case of the Holy Eucharist, may be accounted for by the different principle on which that Sacrament is dependent. In it, consecration is necessary, and the services of the priesthood are indispensable. In it, the elements, and not the ordinance at large, are the medium of the gift. And the reason is, that Our Lord is not present in this ordinance by spiritual power only, but He has consecrated His Body to be the peculiar medium

of a supernatural effect. It has been set forth as an antithesis, or contrast, to that of the old Adam ; and, as a consequence of the Incarnation, He bestows it as a renewing principle in the Holy Eucharist. So that in Baptism He is present only by power and grace ; but in the Holy Eucharist He is present likewise by His Body and Blood. There is not only, therefore, that presence of Godhead which attends upon His gifts, but also that presence of His Flesh and Blood which is bestowed through the consecrated elements.

“For as the Body of the Word is life-giving, since He has made it His own by a real union, which is beyond thought and expression, so we, who are partakers of His sacred Flesh and Blood, are by all means endued with life ; since the Word abides in us in the way of Deity by the Holy Ghost, and in the way of Humanity by His sacred Flesh, and precious Blood. To the truth of that which I have stated the holy Paul bears witness, when he writes to those who had believed on Our Lord Jesus Christ at Corinth ; ‘I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ ? For we being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread.’ For by having been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, we are united to our common Saviour Christ, and to one another. But one Body we are in this way—because we being many, are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread.”²⁴

It must be observed that several passages, which have been quoted in the present chapter from the ancient authors, have been employed in an inverted order ; they have been adduced rather in consequence of the principle out of which they arise, than

²⁴ St. Cyril adv. Nestorium. iv. 5. vol. vi. p. 411.

of the conclusion in which they terminate. The reason of this is obvious from the history of opinions. The leading principles of the early Church were its worship of the God-man, its belief in His real presence in the Holy Eucharist, in the powers of the priesthood, and in the efficacy of consecration. These, and similar facts, were built up into that intellectual system of doctrines which we call the Creeds. The work was one which it cost nearly five centuries to complete, and its last act was to guard against those two opposing heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, by which Our Lord's Incarnation was directly attacked. Hence it became necessary for the defenders of the faith to direct their especial attention to this doctrine; to show the relation which Our Lord's Manhood bore to His divine nature, and that He had vouchsafed to make it the very instrument of that great work which He is pleased to effect in the Holy Eucharist. This was the line of argument adopted by St. Cyril; and in consequence, he was led to dwell upon the relation between the Holy Eucharist and the doctrine of the Incarnation, more fully than any other Father. The best answer to the Nestorians, who denied that Our Lord's Body was the Body of God, was the admitted fact, that it was the principle of life, as bestowed in the Holy Eucharist. And St. Cyril's arguments on this subject were so completely built upon the practice of the four preceding centuries, and were so heartily

adopted by the Church in her most numerous Councils, that to reject them would be to take up arms against all Catholic antiquity.

Now it is obvious that the Church's usages may be justified by the doctrine to which they lead, just as the doctrine was formerly proved from the usages out of which it originated. The doctrine of Our Lord's Incarnation, now that it has taken its place in the dogmatic formularies of the Church, may be adduced in illustration of the fact, that it is His Body, through which He bestows His blessings. If this doctrine was formerly proved by men's belief in the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist, it may now be adduced with equal justice as a reason for supposing this sacrament to be efficacious. And thus it meets the real difficulty by which men's belief is obstructed. The strong antipathy which our reason entertains against the notion of an unnecessary miracle, vanishes, so soon as we see that the agency introduced only occupies its natural place in that chain of causes, by which the acts of God above are linked to those of His earthly servants. No theist feels repugnance at admitting a spiritual influence of God upon the minds of His creatures, because the mind of man appears to be an instrument which is naturally adapted for the reception and perpetuation of intellectual and spiritual impulses. The knowledge, therefore, that we possess this door, whereby we can hold intercourse with

spiritual beings, inclines men to allow the reality of their influence. And in like manner, when it is discovered that Our Lord's Humanity is the appointed channel through which we participate in heavenly blessings, and that the Holy Eucharist is the medium through which it is imparted, His real presence in that ordinance is discovered to have its fitting place in God's dealings towards mankind.

The remarks of Erasmus,²⁵ when the subject came into controversy in the sixteenth century, show that the want of this perception has given rise to the apparent improbability, with which the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist has been supposed to be chargeable. Erasmus could discern no use which was to follow from the presence of Our Lord's Body, which he supposed to be merely a portion of inoperative matter. Unless he had been withheld, therefore, by the tradition of the Church, he would have adopted the Zuinglian theory (as advocated by Ecolampadius), that nothing was to be looked for in this sacrament, but the ordinary operations of God's Spirit. The same feeling is expressed by Johnson, in his learned work on the Unbloody Sacrifice. He tells us, that except with a view to its sacrificial use, he is "very much at a loss, why Our Saviour should

²⁵ "Mibi non displiceret Ecolampadii sententia, nisi obstaret consensus ecclesie. Nec enim video quid agat corpus insensibile, nec utilitatem allaturum, si sentiretur, modo adsit in symbolis gratia spiritualis. Et tamen ab Ecclesie consensu non possum discedere, nec unquam discessi."—*Erasmus Bilbaldo*, June 6, A.D. 1526, Lib. 30. Ep. 44.

make the eating His Body and drinking His Blood so important a duty.”²⁶ And therefore, instead of supposing that the Gospel was the central point in the world’s history, and that the great events which it unfolded were the real relations between God and man, he assigns the same origin to the Holy Eucharist as Tillotson did both to the Priesthood and to the system of expiatory sacrifice, and supposes it to be merely a compliance with the prejudices of men. He thinks that the Holy Eucharist was to be eaten, “because it was the universal practice of the ancient people to feast on those things, which they had first offered in sacrifice.”²⁷

Now all such objections vanish, when it is shown that Our Lord’s real Presence in the Holy Eucharist is a natural sequel to the doctrine of the Incarnation; that it immediately connects itself with those truths which are revealed to us respecting God, Christ, and mankind; and that it supplies the medium, through which the merciful actions of the Mediator are brought home to His creatures. But it has been proved that these facts are witnessed both by the testimony of Scripture, and by the belief of the Church. Otherwise, why should St. Cyprian have thought it necessary to admit men to the Holy Eucharist in a season of persecution, “that we may not leave those unarmed

²⁶ Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. i, p. 264. [Anglo-Catholic Library.]

²⁷ Idem, vol. ii, p. 5.

whom we encourage to the conflict ; but may fortify them by the protection of Christ's Body and Blood ?" ²⁸ How could St. Cyril have adduced it as a decisive proof of the erroneous teaching of Nestorius, that he was ignorant "that the thing set forth on the hallowed tables of the Church is not the nature of Deity, but the very Body of the Word, who was born from the Father ?" ²⁹ Why should St. Leo have considered that it was a sufficient answer to the partizans of Eutyches, that it was so notorious, "as to be witnessed by the very tongues of children, that in the sacrament of the Holy Communion there is the truth of Christ's Body and Blood ?" ³⁰ These statements proceed upon the supposition which St. Cyril has explained more at length in his Commentary upon St. John.

"That we are united to Christ by a perfect love, a right faith, and a sound reason, I am far," he says, "from denying. All this is clear enough. But to venture to affirm that there is no relation between our flesh and His, may be shown to be wholly dissonant from the Scriptures. For how can it be disputed, how can any right-minded man doubt, that in this relation Christ is the vine, and we the branches, who receive life from Him into ourselves ? For St. Paul says, 'we are all one body in Christ, because we being many are one bread, for we are all partakers of that one bread.' For let any man explain to us the cause, and go on to teach us what is the efficacy of the mystical Eucharist. Why is it that we receive it ? Does it not cause Christ to dwell in us even bodily, by the partaking and communion with His sacred Flesh ? No doubt of it. For St. Paul writes, that 'the Gentiles had become of one body and

²⁸ Epis. liv. ad Cornelium. ²⁹ Adv. Nest. iv. 6, vol. vi. p. 116.

³⁰ S. Leo, Ep. 46, ii. p. 260. (Lyons, 1700.)

partakers and fellow-heirs with Christ.' Now in what way were they set forth as one body? Because they were thought worthy to be partakers of the mystical Eucharist, they became one body with Him, even as did each one of the Holy Apostles."³¹

Let the doctrine, then, of Our Lord's Incarnation be admitted, and there will be no improbability in the idea, that His sacred Body should be the medium through which He communicates those gifts which have their origin in His Godhead. That such a thing is not impossible, has been shown already, both from our ignorance of the operation of natural agents, and because the body which is communicated is the Body of God. Add the further thought, that this Body is the appointed instrument by which the New Adam counteracts those effects, which the old Adam produced upon the race of man, and its intervention will be shown to be neither unmeaning nor paradoxical. So that there was no reason why its operations should be deemed improbable by the Apostles, to whom it was originally given, nor yet by the Church in which it has been since bestowed. For that which Our Lord did in person at His last Supper, He has done ever since by the medium of His ministers. Through them does He still bestow that gift of His Body and His Blood, which He gave to His twelve Apostles. He still speaks the words of Institution, and thereby affirms the presence of Himself, of His Body, Soul, and God-

³¹ In Joan. xv. 1, Lib. x. 2, vol. 4, p. 862.

head. Neither is His Body any other than that Human Body, which, by the mystery of the Incarnation, He made His own; that Body which was once humbled, but now is exalted, the self-same Body, which He took of the Virgin, and which suffered on the Cross.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE GIFT BESTOWED IN THE
HOLY EUCHARIST AND THE ELEMENTS.

WE come now to the third question which arises out of the words of Institution—the *connexion*, namely, between the *Subject* and *Predicate*. What was meant by Our Lord, when He said, “This *is* My Body?”

There are two main interpretations, which the copula, *is*, might receive. It might express *representation*, or it might express *identity*. These are the two relations which the Predicate, in such a case, might bear to the Subject; and the same Copula might be employed, whichever relation were intended. “This is Pompey,” was said to Cæsar when his rival’s head was offered to him at Alexandria: and he might have used the same words himself with equal propriety, respecting the statue, at the feet of which he fell, in the Senate-house. In the first case, however, there was the identical person; in the last there was only a representation. Now it is difficult to understand how the Holy Eucharist

can depend upon the principle of representation, because why should bread and wine represent Our Lord's Body and Blood, except there were some real connexion between them? The elements have no natural likeness to flesh and blood, nor, unless the sacramental principle be admitted, have they any especial fitness to represent such objects. Except it had pleased God, therefore, to produce that real relation which is expressed by identity, there is no basis on which to rest the principle of representation.

But again, it must be observed that the force of the word *is*, as expressing *representation*, is derived from two sources; for one thing may represent another, either on account of their natural resemblance, or because the first is authorized and intended to represent the second. An ancient statue would be called by the name of Caesar or Pompey, either because it was supposed to present their well-known lineaments, or because the sculptor had inscribed it with their names. So that we get two principles on which a thing may be said to represent another, either that of *likeness*, which derives its force from the judgment of the spectator, or that of *authority*, which depends upon the intention of the author. A picture represents a man, because it is like him: but a bank note represents, or is, five or ten pounds, because it contains the undertaking of some responsible party that he will pay so many pounds upon its delivery.

Thus, then, we have three senses in which the expression, "This *is*," might be employed. First, it may imply identity: secondly, it may imply that kind of representation which derives its force merely from the effect produced upon the spectator or receiver; thirdly, it may imply that kind of representation which is dependent only upon the intention of the author or giver. Now, when we proceed to apply this to the case before us, and ask which of these three relations was intended by Our Lord, when He said, "*This is My Body*," we are met at once by the fact that these are the three alternatives, which we have already had before us in the second chapter (p. 34), as the theories, respectively, of the ancient Church, of Zuinglius, and Calvin. The principle of *identity* is coincident with that of the ancient Church, which supposed that the Holy Eucharist derived its value from the reality of the gift bestowed: that principle of representation which depends upon the *opinion of the spectator*, is plainly the theory of Zuinglius, who maintained that the Holy Eucharist derived its efficacy solely from the disposition of the receiver: lastly, that principle of representation which depends upon the *intention of the author*, agrees exactly with the system of Calvin, by whom the decree of Almighty God was affirmed to be its sole consecrating principle.

Two, then, of the systems under consideration, have already been dismissed as partial and unsatis-

factory ; that of Zuinglius, as incompatible with the first instincts of Christian piety ; that of Calvin, as involving the monstrous theory of an arbitrary fate. They are partial, because implied in the system of the ancient Church ; they are unsatisfactory, because untenable in themselves. And, therefore, though both will be further noticed in the sequel, and shown neither to accord with Holy Scripture, nor with the teaching of the ancient Church, yet we may leave them for the present, and turn to that principle of identity, which alone remains to claim our attention.

When it is said, therefore, "This is My Body," the word *is*, expresses the *identity* of the Subject and Predicate. For there is nothing else which it could express, except that principle of representation, which would lead us to those theories of Zuinglius and Calvin, which we have discarded. But identity is of various kinds, and what is the nature of the identity here intended? It is something distinct from that personal identity which is unaffected by the perpetual change which takes place in the materials of the body. Still less is it a common case of physical identity, as when we handle portions of the visible creation, and say "this is iron," or "this is earth." For this sacrament, as was shown in the second chapter (*p.* 21), is to be dealt with as being wholly a moral, and not a physical instrument. This is no detraction from the truth of Our Lord's Presence, nor from

the reality of that identity which is affirmed by the words of consecration; it implies only that Christ's Presence is not bestowed according to the ordinary laws of the material creation, but is specific and supernatural. Wherein, then, does the identity consist? It is plainly a peculiar principle—*sui generis*; which, being without parallel in the world around, is entitled to a specific appellation. For it depends upon that mysterious law of consecration, of which we have no other example; and by virtue of this act, the Subject and Predicate make up together a real, but heterogeneous whole. And therefore the ancient writers speak of the union as mystical or secret, because its nature and laws are entirely hidden from investigation. So that since the relation between the Subject and Predicate in Our Lord's words of Institution cannot be resolved into any more general idea, it can derive its name only from itself, and the union can be described as nothing else than a *sacramental identity*.

Such is the result of that principle of consecration, which has been shown to be characteristic of the Holy Eucharist. Hence it comes to pass that this sacrament consists of two things, a Subject and a Predicate, which are united into one by a law of identity which is without parallel. So the matter is stated in our Catechism: the Holy Eucharist consists not only of an "outward part or sign," but also of an "inward part or thing signified." This agrees with the definition of Peter Lombard, "in-

visibilis gratiæ visibilis causa." And the same idea may be traced up to the first followers of the Apostles. We find it in St. Irenæus, who says that the consecrated element "is no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two parts, an earthly and a heavenly."¹ St. Basil applies the same principle to Baptism, though here it is the ordinance at large, not that which is administered in it, which consists of two parts. One of these he describes to be immersion in water, the other the presence of the Spirit;² in exact accordance with St. Paul's words, that this sacrament consists of "the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."

But the writer who suggested that phraseology, which has continued to be prevalent, at least in Western Christendom, was St. Augustin. By sacraments, he says, are meant, in general, those signs which are used with a sacred purpose.³ But when he proceeds to define them more exactly, he says that a sacrament consists of two parts, one of which is an object to the senses, the other to the mind. The first, therefore, has a visible and corporeal nature; the second is that spiritual gift, which it is the object of the ordinance to convey.⁴ This is illustrated by the language of an early Eastern writer, quoted by Photius; "the Body of Christ, which is received by the faithful, undergoes

¹ St. Irenæus, iv. 18, 5.

² De Spiritu Sancto, xv. 35, p. 29.

³ Epist. cxxxviii. 7, vol. ii. p. 412.

⁴ Sermo 271, vol. v. p. 1104.

no alteration, so far as it is an object to the senses, and yet can never be detached from that inward gift, which is an object to the mind.”⁵ The writer of these words belonged to a school hereafter to be noticed, the object of which was to oppose the Eutychians ; his design, therefore, is to illustrate the co-existence of two natures in Christ, by reference to the existence of an outward and inward part in the Holy Eucharist. So that he is led to observe that “the tangible and intangible, the visible and invisible,” though entirely distinct in character, are yet joined together in this sacrament.

The thing received in the Holy Eucharist being admitted, then, to consist of two parts, different in character, yet united the one to the other; the one an object to the senses, the other made known to us only by revelation and faith ; St. Augustin proceeded to assign names respectively to each. The outward part he called “*sacramentum*,” the inward part “*res sacramenti*,” or “*virtus sacramenti*.” The last two expressions, which he used somewhat vaguely,⁶ were more accurately discriminated by later writers ; they appropriated the words *res sacramenti*, or *thing signified*, to the

⁵ Ephraim, Patriarch of Theopolis (*i. e.* Antioch) in Photius, No. 229.

⁶ “Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti.”—*In Johan.* Tract. xxvi. 11. “Hujus rei sacramentum . . . quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium : res vero ipsa, ejus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium.”—*Id.* xxvi. 15. Here he probably uses *res sacramenti* for *virtus sacramenti*; for that his belief was that the inward part, or Body of Christ, is received by all communicants, is obvious from other passages. Vide *Epis.* xli. 66 ; *De Baptismo contra Don.* v. 9 ; *Sermo* lxxi. 17 ; *In Johan.* xxvii. 11.

inward part, while they reserved the expression, *virtus sacramenti*, for "the benefits, whereof we are partakers thereby." Such was the course taken by Bishop Overall, conformably to the more exact phraseology of the schoolmen, when he compiled our Catechism.

When it is said, then, that the relation between the Subject and the Predicate in Our Lord's words of Institution, is that of sacramental identity, it is meant that the outward and inward parts, the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*, are united by the act of consecration into a compound whole. The two therefore are so united, that they must needs go together; and whoso receives the one, receives the other. So long as we remain in the region of the senses, and take account only of that which is visible to the outward world, the *sacramentum* is all which we know of; but judge of the matter by faith and revelation, and we are sure that the *res sacramenti* is present also. Such was the efficacy of Our Lord's original benediction; such continues to be the force of the same words, when pronounced by Him through the mouth of His ministers. For they are *creative* words; like those which called the world into existence; they *effect* that which they declare.

Since the principle, then, of the Holy Eucharist is that two dissimilar things, the outward and the inward, retaining each their own character, are united into a heterogeneous whole, it follows that the com-

plete idea of this sacrament implies, not only the maintenance of the two portions of which this *whole* is composed, but the law of their combination.

Hence there will be four errors, against which it is necessary to guard. Since that which is participated in the Holy Eucharist consists of an outward part and an inward part, and since these two must be duly joined together, the nature of a sacrament would be overthrown if either the one part or the other were *omitted*; or if the two were either unduly *confused*, or unduly *separated*. And these will be found, in fact, to be the characteristic circumstances in the four erroneous systems which have prevailed respecting the Holy Eucharist. Since it consists both of a *sacramentum*, and a *res sacramenti*, it must be fatal to it to omit either the one or the other. Yet such was the error of the Capernaïtes on the one side, and of Zuinglius on the other. The *sacramentum* had no place in their thoughts, nor the *res sacramenti* in his. Again, since the Holy Eucharist implies that these parts, though continuing distinct, are mystically joined together, it must be equally fatal to its nature either to confuse or dissociate them. But the first was done by Luther, the last by Calvin. Let us review these several systems, and we shall thus gain a clearer apprehension of the nature of that sacramental identity which binds the *sacramentum* to the *res sacramenti*; the consecrated elements, that is, to the Body and Blood of Christ.

First—To omit the *res sacramenti*, or thing communicated, is plainly the greatest possible misconception of the Holy Eucharist. For it destroys the very purpose for which this ordinance was appointed, and renders it an unmeaning and useless formality. So that it would be more reasonable to explain away the command to celebrate the Eucharist, than to retain the ordinance, but destroy its significance. Such, however, was the course adopted by Zuinglius, and openly advocated in this country by Hoadley. It may be fitly described as the notion of a *Symbolical*⁷ Presence, since it represented the elements to be nothing but a sign or symbol of the presence of Christ. It had its origin, as we have seen, in a desire to dispense with the necessity of consecration, and with the authority of the Priesthood. Its immediate result was, that instead of any recognition of the present action of our glorified Redeemer, the Holy Eucharist was supposed to be a mere memorial of His season of humiliation. It was merely the recollection of Christ dead, not the intervention of Christ living. Its benefit was supposed to depend not upon any gift bestowed by God, but solely upon the disposition of the receiver. The elements were alleged to be merely ordinary bread and wine. In the minds of faithful and devout persons, Zuinglius said, such emblems would excite a remembrance of Him

⁷ Zuinglius asserted, "quod Christi corpus, quum in cena, quum in mentibus piorum, non aliter sit, quam sola contemplatione."—*Edward's Dogma vom Heil. Abendmahl*, vol. ii. p. 259.

by whom they were originally employed, and thus would draw down those succours of grace, with which Almighty God is always ready to meet any pious aspiration. But he admitted of no *res sacramenti*^s at all—no inward part, contained in, and communicated through that which was outward. So that his system deprived the Sacrament of its most important portion, and resolved it into a mere outside, alike destitute of sacredness and reality.

Secondly—The notion of Our Lord's hearers at Capernaum was the exact converse. Not comprehending the mysterious character of that gift, which it was His merciful purpose to bestow upon His people, they could put no other meaning upon Our Saviour's words than that His Flesh was to be divided into portions, and distributed as natural food to men. Their own words show that they understood neither the meaning nor advantage of the process contemplated. Without believing the mystery of the Incarnation, they could see no purpose in that communication of Himself, whereby it was Our Lord's gracious intention to impart spiritual grace. And even if they had more fully apprehended Our Lord's nature, they could hardly have divined the exact character of that blessing which He was about to bestow, till He Himself was pleased to put an interpretation upon His prophetic words by the in-

^s "Cum sacramentum corporis Christi nomino, non quicquam aliud quam panem, qui corporis Christi pro nobis mortui figura et typus est, intelligo."—*De CENA Domini plana et brevis Institutio*; *Zwinglius's Works*, vol. ii. fol. 273. "Si ergo signum tantum rei est, res ipsa non est."—*Ad Principes Germania Epistola*, *Id.* fol. 545.

stitution of the Holy Eucharist. For the outward and inward parts in this ordinance are so entirely relevant to one another, that the nature of the one part cannot be understood without reference to the other. It is the very principle of a sacrament that the inward part cannot in any way be an object to the senses; so that to exclude all consideration of an outward part, is to overthrow the purpose of a sacrament altogether. For since this ordinance is a mean, whereby God is pleased to bestow inward gifts through external agents, to leave out one link, destroys the coherence of the whole transaction. The same Fathers who tell us that the consecrated elements consist of two parts, and that the inward part, wherein lies their whole value, is nothing less than the Body and Blood of Christ, look upon it as monstrous to imagine that this hidden gift can in any way come into contact with our external senses. St. Augustin, who speaks of the Holy Eucharist as a mean whereby men may eat angels' food, tells us that the discourse of Our Lord at Capernaum must have seemed as though He was "recommending a monstrous crime;"⁹ that "to eat a man's flesh would seem more horrible than to kill; to drink human blood than to shed it;"¹⁰ St. Irenæus, who speaks of the reception of Our Lord's Body in the Holy Eucharist as the renewing principle of our flesh, refers to the charge that they devoured human victims, as a horrible imputation brought

⁹ De Doctrina Christiana, iii., sec. 16.

¹⁰ Contra Adver. Legis, Lib. ii., sec. 33, vol. viii., p. 599.

upon Christians through the evidence of slaves, who either misunderstood or misrepresented what they had heard from their masters respecting the Holy Eucharist.¹¹

There is one ancient writer alone whose words at all sanction the error of the Capernaïtes, and he would be scarcely important enough to deserve attention, did he not exhibit exactly that carnal view of the Holy Eucharist, which is censured in the Articles of the Church of England. This is Anastasius Sinaita,¹² who wrote against the Gaianitæ, a sect of Eutychians, who denied that Our Lord's human Body had ever been corruptible. His arguments against them show how little tendency there was in those days towards the error of a figurative presence, but they lie open to the opposite charge of implying a carnal participation. For he excludes the idea of a *sacramentum*, as much as Zuinglius did that of a *res sacramenti*. No doubt he must have supposed that the senses of men were withheld by some supernatural power from discerning the real character of that which they handled, and of which they partook; but his argument would certainly seem to imply that Our Lord's Body is present in the Holy Eucharist, under the same natural conditions which attached to it when it was upon earth. He begins by asking his Eutychian opponent whether he allowed that Our Lord's Body and Blood were truly

¹¹ Fragmenta Irenæi, p. 343. Massuet.

¹² Probably in the seventh century, and somewhat later than his namesake, the Patriarch of Antioch.—Vide *Fabricius Bib. Græca*, Lib. v. C. 35.

present in the Holy Eucharist. The answer he supposes to be that "the Holy Communion is not merely a figure of Christ's Body, or simple bread, but that very Body and Blood of Christ, which was Incarnate and born of the Virgin Mary." To this Anastatius replies, under the title of Orthodox:

"Such is our belief: we confess this, in accordance with Christ's words to His disciples, in the mystic supper, when He gave them the life-giving bread: 'take, eat, this is My Body.' Since Christ then confesses that this is truly His Body and Blood, which we faithful take, come, bring us a portion from the communion of your Church, as professing to be the most orthodox among Churches, and let us keep this Body and Blood of Christ with all honour and reverence in a vessel. And if within a few days it is not corrupted, changed, or altered, it will be obvious that you are right in asserting that the Body of Christ was free from corruption from the very moment of the Incarnation; but if it be corrupted or changed, you must necessarily confess one of two things, either that the thing which you receive is not the true Body of Christ, but only a figure or sign of it; or that on account of your corrupted faith the Holy Spirit has not descended upon it; or that Christ's Body before its resurrection was subject to corruption, as being a Body, which was slain, wounded, divided and eaten."¹³

This passage not only refers to Our Lord's Body, as though it still retained the same conditions which had belonged to it before the Resurrection; but it also loses sight of the essential characteristic of a sacrament, by supposing that its inward part can be an object to the senses of men. So that it involves the very supposition which is censured in the 28th Article; such "change of the substance of bread and wine," as "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament." The opinion here objected to must

¹³ Anast. Sin. Viæ Dux, 23. Bib. Pat. ix. p. 855. Something similar is implied in the Epist. ad Epis. Doar. But the letter is not Damascene's.

be something which runs counter to the sacramental principle, that is, to the idea that an inward part and an outward part are coupled together: the last an object to the senses, the former to the mind. Such a notion would have been rejected by Aquinas and the other schoolmen, although the different meaning which they attach to the word *substance*, produces a verbal contradiction between them and the Church of England. The word *substance*, in the 28th Article, seems intended to express that which is *material* in the consecrated elements; the *sacramentum* namely, or outward and visible sign. To suppose that this passes wholly away, would be the error of Anastatius, and would overthrow the nature of a sacrament, because it would exclude one of those parts which is characteristic of such ordinances. But the meaning of the word *substance*, as understood by the schoolmen, was wholly different.¹¹ The Aristotelian philosophy, on which their expressions were moulded, divided all objects into the *accidental* part, which was an object to the

¹¹ According to this philosophy, all objects were referable to ten heads, Substance, Quantity, Quality, and seven kinds of relation. These ten heads, or categories, were a metaphysical classification, according to which every conceivable object was supposed to be divisible. The first, Substance, expressed the *Quiddity* of an object, *i. e.*, what it is, *quid est*: the other nine categories expressed its accidents. Now, it was held that there were two sources of knowledge, *sense* and *intellect* (*St. Thom. Opusc. c. 29, p. 400*). Of these, *sense* was exclusively conversant with the *accidents* of things. For "*sensus est cognoscitivus accidentium.*" (*Summa Theol. i. 78. 3.*) But the *Substance*, or *Quiddity*, was an object to *intellect* alone. "*Quidditas rei sensibilis est objectum intellectus proprium, ut dicitur in 3 de Animâ.*" (*Opusc. xxix., p. 400.*) And again, "*Quidditas rei particularis in particulari non spectat ut per se objectum ad illos sensus exteriores, cum quidditas ista substantia sit, et non accidens.*" (*Id. p. 401.*) Hence it was held that "*Substantia de se, in quantum substantia, locum non occupet.*" (*Opusc. lix. 3, p. 677.*) The genuineness of some of St. Thomas's *Opuscula* is doubtful; but at any rate they express the opinions of his school.

senses, and the *substantial*, which was an object only to the mind. By substance therefore in the Holy Eucharist, they understood not the *Sacramentum*, but the *Res Sacramenti*. This more subtle sense of the word *substance*, which had become familiar in Theology, was employed by the Council of Trent, when it declared its mind in opposition to the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation. So that when the Church of England denies that the substance of bread and wine is changed in the Holy Eucharist, she refers to the *sacramentum*, or that which is an object to the senses. But when the Church of Rome speaks of change of substance, there is no reason why she may not be understood to refer to the *res sacramenti*, or that which is not an object to the senses. If the question were understood in this way, the contradiction would be verbal, rather than real; in language and not in thought. The carnal or Capernaite notion is that, which the words of the Article really censure; for to exclude the idea of a *sacramentum*, or external part, would overthrow the very nature of a sacrament.

Such are the theories which have resulted from regarding one part only of the Holy Eucharist to the exclusion of the other: from denying, as Zuinglius did, the inward grace; or like Anastatius Sinaita, the outward form. But since the due union of these two parts of a sacrament is not less essential than the admission of each, there are two other errors into which it is possible to fall: the

outward and inward part may be confused with one another, as was done by Luther, or separated, as was done by Calvin. The peculiar theory of Luther on this subject resulted from the contending influence of two opposite principles. The associations of his youth, reinforced by his antipathy to the revolutionary spirit of the Swiss reformers, inclined him to look with reverence on the Holy Eucharist. On the other hand, he was resolved to maintain inviolate his favourite principle of justification exclusively by faith. Now the Lutheran¹⁵ doctrine of justification by faith, is incompatible with any real belief in the validity of sacraments. If a man can place himself in a state of safety and acceptance, by the mere conviction of his own mind, what need has he of external ordinances? A person who possessed the secret which was sought for by the Alchemists, could hardly be expected to earn his daily bread by the toilsome processes of ordinary labour; and those who imagined that man's salvation was wrought out by his own assurance of its attainment, could never attach any real value to the means of grace. That the im-

¹⁵ The Lutheran doctrine was expressed with the utmost distinctness in the Confession of Augsburg, as it was presented by the Protestants to the Emperor A.D. 1530, and printed 1531. The *Confessio Variata*, which modifies it greatly, was substituted by Melancthon, "privato ausu," A.D. 1540. — *Pfaff, Introd. Hist. in Libros Symbolicos*, iii., 6. The original Confession asserts *justifying faith* to be the *faith of the man who believes himself to be justified*. The faith which God imputes for righteousness is said to be "cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata remitti propter Christum :—" *Art. 4*. In *Art. 5* it is said that God "justificet hos, qui credunt, se propter Christum in gratiam recipi." In the 12th, faith is defined to be that, which "credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam ;" and so in the 13th, faith "quæ credat remitti peccata."

portance of sacraments was an excrecence in Luther's system, and had no root in its real life, is shown by the history of his followers. Symptoms of this might be discerned even in his own life-time: Melanethon gradually omitted the stronger statements which had at first been introduced into the Confession of Augsburg; ¹⁶ while Oecolampadius, ¹⁷ his opponent at Marburg, did not fail to press upon him that his notion respecting the Holy Eucharist was incompatible with his own view of the sole importance of faith. ¹⁸

In what way, then, was Luther to reconcile tendencies, which led him to attach sacredness to the Holy Eucharist, while they forbade him to allow

¹⁶ In the original copy of the Confession of Augsburg (in German), A.D. 1530, the 10th Article stands as follows: "About the Supper of the Lord it is taught that the true Body and Blood of Christ is truly present in the Supper *under the form of bread and wine*, and is there distributed and taken. And the contrary doctrine is rejected." [This resembles the statement of our first book of Homilies, "of the due receiving of His blessed Body and Blood under the form of bread and wine."] But in the first Latin version, A.D. 1531, some of the most important words are omitted. "About the Supper of the Lord, they teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to them who eat in the Supper of the Lord, and they condemn those who teach otherwise." Melanethon's revised Confession, called the *Variata*, A.D. 1540, exhibits a further alteration. "About the Supper of the Lord they teach that with the bread and wine there are truly set forth [exhibeantur] the Body and Blood of Christ to those who eat in the Lord's Supper." This was an earnest of the change which has since been witnessed. "Since the middle of the eighteenth century," says Lücke, "the generality, whether of dogmatic or exegetical writers among the Lutherans, have at first silently, and then avowedly, adopted the Calvinistic or Zuinglian theory of the Lord's Supper."—*Commentary on St. John*, vol. ii., p. 732.

¹⁷ Vide Ébrard, vol. ii., p. 319. ¹⁸ Bretschneider observes, in reference to Luther's system, "Inasmuch as the force and benefit of reception depends solely on faith in Jesus as Atoner (*fides salvifica*), and this faith by no means includes a belief in the real presence of the Body and Blood in the Lord's Supper, it follows from the system itself that a man enjoys all the benefits of the Lord's Supper by faith in Jesus, as Atoner, although he doubts about the real presence. Even according to the system of the Symbolical Books, the subtle theory about the real presence has no connexion with the purpose of the Lord's Supper."—*Dogmatik der Lutherischen Kirche*, sec. 202, vol. ii., p. 687. (Leipsic, 1838.)

real efficacy to the means of grace? Such was the problem before him: and his doctrine on this sacrament resulted from the combination of these different influences. He avowed plainly his belief in the real presence of Our Lord's natural body; and expressed himself on this subject with a distinctness, which seemed almost to imply a carnal participation. When Melancthon was about to meet Bucer at Cassel, he received the following instructions from Luther: "This, in short, is our opinion; that the Body of Christ is truly eaten in and with the bread, so that every thing which the bread does and suffers, the Body of Christ does and suffers; it is divided, eaten, and chewed with the teeth."¹⁹

It might be supposed that such views as these respecting the *reality* of Our Lord's presence, would lead Luther to adopt the opinions of the ancient Church respecting its *efficacy*. But here came in the other side of his opinions. To attribute the same weight as had formerly been done to the restoration of mankind in the New Adam; to suppose that those supernatural gifts which had been lost in our first father, are given back in our Second; to believe in a true re-creation of man's nature, by which it is regenerated, reformed, and corroborated, so that those who were alienated in Adam are reinstated through a real union with Christ—all this would have been to attribute a value to ex-

¹⁹ Planck (Gesch. des Prot. Lehrbegriffs, vol. iii. part i. p. 369.) adds the words, "propter unionem sacramentalem;" but they do not occur in the letter, of Dec. 17. 1534.—*Luther's Letters*. De Wette, vol. iv. p. 572.

ternal ordinances which was inconsistent with Luther's whole system. It was necessary, therefore, to find some other reason by which to account for so peculiar an institution as the Holy Eucharist. Hence the perplexity in which he found himself in his discussion with Zuinglius and Oecolampadius at Marburg. He is said to have written the words of Institution with chalk upon the table before him, and when called upon to explain them in a manner less inconsistent and unmeaning, his only reply consisted of coarse illustrations²⁰ and violent reiteration. "I don't ask," he said, "what is the use of this bodily eating, but whether it is not so written? It is enough that God has said it: man has no choice but to do it. God has in this case attached acceptance with Him to the bodily eating. If God told me to eat dung I should do it too."²¹

In thus admitting that acceptance with God was in any way attached to the reception of Our Lord's Humanity, Luther was far from meaning that this gift followed from our incorporation into Him. The effect of the Holy Eucharist, he maintained, was purely arbitrary and technical. "If it were mere bread and wine, as you say it is," he told Carolstad, "and yet if those words were there, 'take, eat, this is My Body which is given for you,' it would be just as profitable for the forgiveness of sins, by virtue of this expression."²² In his answer to

²⁰ "Wenn Gott etwas sage, müsse man's glauben, selbst wenn Gott sage, dass ein Hufeisen sein Leib sei."—*Ebrard*, vol. ii. p. 318.

²¹ *Ebrard*, vol. ii. p. 320.

²² *Planck*, vol. ii. p. 245.

Carolstad²³ therefore, as well as on other occasions,²⁴ he studiously abstained from dwelling on what he supposed to be the advantage of the ordinance. His real opinion, however, appears to have been that Our Lord's Presence is given both as a striking proof of God's favour²⁵ towards mankind, and as peculiarly fitted to produce an impression upon the receiver. He was accustomed, therefore, to speak of the Sacrament as a sign; not, as Planck²⁶ observes, because he considered bread to be the sign of Our Lord's Body; the sign which he thought of, consisted at once of bread and of the Body of Our Lord. So that though he recognised the existence of a *res sacramenti*, yet he dealt with it as though it had been an emblem only, and not a reality. The Body of Our Lord was not, as the Church had always supposed, a life-giving principle, which was actually communicated through the instrumentality of certain sensible media; it was only intended to give greater *impressiveness* to the ordinance, and

²³ Planck, vol. ii. p. 241.

²⁴ Id. vol. ii. p. 328.

²⁵ The notion that Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist is a sign of God's general purposes, but not an especial means through which He bestows His gifts, may be found also in Melancthon. "The Supper of the Lord," he says, "signifies that Christ has made satisfaction for our sins, and promised us forgiveness; and yet it *does not follow* that Christ's Body is *not present*."—*Ebrard*, ii. 334. Again he says: "the words of the Sacrament . . . are a witness that Christ is with us; He says He gives us His Body *to show* that He is not only exalted above us as our Creator, but was and is really with us."—*Do*, ii. 439. Calvin frequently observes upon the little stress which the Lutherans lay on the *benefits* of the Holy Eucharist. "Quorsum instituta sit Cœna, et quem fructum attulerat fidelibus, alium apud eos silentium fuit."—*Works*, vol. viii. 734.

²⁶ Planck, ii. 212. So in his Sermon, "*De Excommunicatione*," he says: "Altera et posterior communicatio est externa, corporalis, et visibilis, quæ fit ipsa participatione sacramenti, eaque est signum prioris illius, internæ et spiritualis communicationis."—*Hospinian*, vol. ii. p. 10.

its office terminated in the ordinance itself. Its purpose was like that of a picture or a crucifix, which, though wholly inoperative in themselves, may be productive of effect upon the beholder. But what rendered it infinitely more sacred than any such emblem, was that it was the real Body and Blood of the Saviour of the world. What is this, in fact, but the notion attributed by Nicetas the Paphlagonian to those who deposed Photius? To give greater solemnity to their act, he says, the members of the Council infused a drop of Our Lord's Blood into the ink with which they signed the sentence of deposition. It would seem to be exactly an analogous effect which Luther attributed to Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist. He neither allowed that it rendered the Sacrament really more valid, nor that it was calculated in itself to produce any beneficial results;²⁷ but he

²⁷ When Luther speaks, therefore, of the Holy Eucharist, as assuring us of the forgiveness of sins, he does not mean that this benefit is conveyed to us through Our Lord—the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified: he considers the Sacrament to be merely a confirmation of God's general promises of forgiveness. "Is sacramenti est usus, ut dicere hoc vere possis: habeo hic apertum verbum, remissa mihi esse peccata. Signum quoque accepi, manducavi et bibi, id quod certo comprobare possum."—*Concio ad Sacram. Altaris*, vol. i. fol. 80. (Ed. 1582.) He has no idea, therefore, that the thing given in the Holy Eucharist is more valuable than any promise. On the contrary, he speaks of the "verba benedictionis" as being the "panis vite."—*Formula Commun. pro Eccl. Wittenberg.* vol. ii. fol. 385. He contrasts the two together, and prefers the promise: *De Capt. Babyl.* vol. ii. fol. 70. And he says, "sacramentalis" [manducatio] "non vivificat."—*Id.* fol. 64. And again, "Non in aliud pane aut sacramento utitur, quam fidei confirmandæ gratiæ."—*Sermo de Euchar.* vol. vii. fol. 337. And even when writing against the Sacramentarians, when the passages which he quotes compel him to maintain that Christ's Body is a seed of resurrection to the bodies of men, he never gets free from his capital error—that the *res sacramenti* itself is only a pledge or token of something which is effected independently of it. "Proprium suum corpus nobis dat ad comedendum, ut nos eo pignore obsequet, et in certissimam spem adducat," &c.—*Defens. Verb. Cæne*, Works, vol. vii. fol. 395.

supposed that it would impart an additional solemnity to the action.

Now it is obvious that such a view of Our Lord's Presence is incompatible with the very purpose of a sacrament, because it confuses the functions of the outward sign and the inward grace. If Our Lord's Body be present in the Holy Eucharist, it is because that ordinance has been appointed as the medium whereby its salutary influence is communicated to men. The very object of uniting it with certain sensible elements, is to communicate that secret gift, of which human senses cannot take cognizance. To suppose, therefore, that Our Lord's Body is really present, but that it is only a sign whereby we are assured of God's goodness, and whereby the feelings are impressed, is to mix together things in their nature heterogeneous—the outward sign and the thing signified. It somewhat resembles the superstitious use of the consecrated elements which St. Augustin²⁸ tells us was made by the mother of Acatius, when she employed it as a cataplasm for the opening of his eyes. It might please God to bless such a step; but it seems to imply a misapprehension of the real nature of Christ's presence. In like manner did Luther lose sight of the real benefit of Our Lord's Body, which can only be appreciated by those who discern it to be the *res sacramenti*, when he assigned to it an object and a use, which it could

²⁸ S. Aug. Opus. Imperf. contra Julian. iii. sec. 162.

only discharge if it were the *sacramentum*, or external emblem.

These views of Luther's exposed him to the charge, which was brought against him by his opponents, of holding a theory which they described as *Consubstantiation*. The term, it must be remembered, was not his, but that of his opponents;²⁹ but it arose naturally enough out of some of his assertions. Among his various and inconsistent statements respecting the Holy Eucharist, he referred with approbation³⁰ to an assertion of Peter D'Ailly,³¹ that the co-existence of two substances was not in itself more inconceivable than the co-existence of two qualities, though it was less conformable to the established phrasology of the Church. This was thrown out by D'Ailly, merely as an account which might be given of the manner in which Our Lord's Body comes to be present in the Holy Eucharist; it was not D'Ailly's intention to confound the purposes of the outward part and the inward part in this sacrament, or to derogate from that harmonious order, whereby a divine gift is communicated through external means. Hence,

²⁹ Gerhard speaks of the term as applied to Lutherans by their opponents.—*Loci Theol.* No. 69 and 98, with Cotta's note.

³⁰ De Captiv. Babyl. vol. ii. fol. 67.

³¹ D'Ailly begins by saying, "Sciendum est, quod ly Catholici concordaverint in hoc, quod corpus Christi vere et principaliter est in sacramento sub speciebus panis et vini. Circa modum ponendi fuerint diversæ opiniones." The third opinion which he states is, "quod substantia panis remanet;" of which he says "valde possibilis est substantiam panis co-existere substantiæ corporis, nec est magis impossibile duas substantias co-existere, quam duas qualitates." And he concludes by observing, "nullum inconveniens sequitur ex priore modo ponendi, si tam concordaret cum determinatione Ecclesiæ."—*Questiones Magistri Petri de Alliaco Cardinalis Cameracensis*, fol. 265. On the *Fourth Book of Sentences*.

however, arose the term Consubstantiation, which has ever since been regarded as characteristic of Lutheranism, because Luther's whole system led to his confounding the *purposes* of the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*; while this term had a tendency to confound their *natures*. So that it accorded well enough with a theory, the purpose of which was to vindicate the sacredness of the Holy Eucharist without admitting its efficacy. For to do justice to this ordinance as a means of grace, it was essential to recognise both its outward form and its inward life; and thus to consider the former to be the divinely appointed medium through which it was the will of God to communicate the latter. All this was incompatible with Luther's principles, who was ready indeed to admit the reality of Our Lord's Presence, but not to recognise the greatness of those gifts which are communicated through the Humanity of the Second Adam. So that his system could not be maintained except by mixing together the outward sign and the inward reality; by attributing to Our Lord's Body a mere carnal office, instead of regarding it as the life-giving principle of grace. And thus he was at once a zealot for Our Lord's bodily Presence, while he made the belief of it impossible, by rendering it superfluous.

Fourthly—There remains one further theory, more subtile and plausible than the preceding ones, by which the notion of a sacrament is not less

completely overthrown, than by those which have been described. Though it be admitted that a sacrament consists of two parts, one outward, and the other inward, and that each must retain its due office, without confusion or intermixture, yet it is possible so to separate them as to destroy their sacramental coherence, and thus to overthrow the purpose of the ordinance. And this was done by the theory of Calvin. No one professed to go further than he did in asserting the importance of the inward gift which is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist. It might be supposed that he entered into the relation between this sacrament and the reconstruction of mankind through Christ; and that he accepted St. Cyril's statements, that the Humanity of Our Lord is the appointed medium through which spiritual blessings are conferred upon His brethren. A far deeper man than Zuinglius,³² he saw that the re-creation of mankind must be based upon that supernatural system of events which had its commencement in the Incarnation of the Second Adam; more clear-sighted than Luther, he discriminated accurately between the inward gift and the outward sign. But it was to no purpose that he recognized each part of the ordinance, and assigned to either its appropriate weight, so long as he detached the one from the other. For since it is the very conception of a

³² He observes, "quam profana sit (Zuinglii) de sacramentis doctrina."—*Cale. litera inedita*, (*Bretschneider*) p. 10, vid. *Kaluis*, p. 394.

sacrament, that the outward sign is the medium through which it pleases God to bestow the inward reality, it was equally fatal to deny the coherence, as the distinctness or integrity of its parts.

To appreciate fully the system of Calvin, it is necessary to bear in mind the twofold object which he proposed to himself. On the one hand, he wished to get rid of consecration, and therefore could not admit that the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti* were bound to one another. On the other hand, he desired to assign its full value to the *virtus sacramenti*, in which their action results. How was this to be effected? Since the *virtus sacramenti* follows from the *res sacramenti*, it would seem that the second was necessary to the existence of the first. Again, the consecration of the elements is the act by which the outward and inward parts receive that mystic coherence which unites them into a whole; so that to reject the principle of coherence would involve the rejection also of its effects. These difficulties Calvin attempted to overcome by saying, first, that a *res sacramenti* really exists, though it be not present in the sacrament: it is the Body of Christ, which is present only in heaven; and has no connexion with the *sacramentum*, which is exhibited upon earth. Next, he stated that the *virtus sacramenti* followed from the *res sacramenti* by God's appointment, either through the lifting of the receiver's soul into

heaven, or through the diffusion of the influence of Christ's Body upon earth.

Now it appears strange that so acute a reasoner as Calvin should put these two last suggestions together, as if they were only two ways of stating the same hypothesis.³³ For they are entirely distinct ideas ; the second implies that some force, or *virtue*, issues from Our Lord's Flesh, as the means whereby its sphere of operations is extended ; the first, that though Our Lord's Body is not really present upon earth, yet that it may be said to be present, *nominally*, or *virtually*, because the approach of the soul to Christ produces the same results as if it were present. So that in the one case Christ's Body is supposed to be the agent ; in the other, the souls of men. Yet the ambiguity of the words *virtue*, and *virtual*, renders it possible to represent these ideas as almost identical. And this was not an inconvenient circumstance, if it was Calvin's intention, as it certainly was his practice, to introduce Our Lord's Body as though it were the agent in the Holy Eucharist, and yet not to assign to it any real part in the transaction. For since it was to be nominally put forward, without really exercising any influence, the only course which could be adopted, was to leave its mode of action ambiguous. If Our Lord's Body were really

³³ Calvin constantly associates the two, as if they were identical. Thus, in his remarks on the Consensus Tigur., the statement that "Christus . . . in cœlum ad se . . . nos attollit," is directly followed by "ad nos suâ virtute descendit."—*Niemeyer*, p. 215.

an agent in this sacrament, it must be supposed that the capacity to be present as the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified, was an especial power bestowed upon it through its oneness with Godhead. But since this would have involved the validity of consecration, Calvin substituted the intervention of the Spirit,³⁴ instead of the efficacy of Our Lord's Body, as the true *res sacramenti*, by which a relation is brought about between God and man. This enabled him to rest the value of the sacrament not upon any gift which had actually been bestowed through the Humanity of Christ, but solely upon the Divine intention. So that he could speak of the *sacramentum*, or external part, as nothing more than a seal, charter, or title-deed, by which the Supreme Being bore witness to the process which He was carrying on at the same moment within the receiver's soul [*vide supra*, cap. ii.]. And the only connexion between the *sacramentum* and *virtus sacramenti*, was that their reception was simultaneous, and that they were bestowed by the same Giver upon the same receiver.

It is justly complained by Kahnis, that "it is difficult to enter into this system, not on account of its depth, but by reason of its artificial, indefinite, and cloudy nature. For Calvin treats those with the deepest contempt, who connect the Body and Blood with the elements, while yet he esteems it a gross misrepresentation if any one denies that he

³⁴ "Facit arcana Spiritus virtus, ut quæ locorum spatio distant, inter se uniantur."—*De Vera Particip.* Works, viii. 744.

considers the elements to be the vehicles of the true Body and Blood."³⁵ By this double system he was able, certainly, to dispense with consecration, and yet to represent the gift bestowed as real and important. But then there was a practical dishonesty in professing to accord with the strong expressions of the early Church, while he discarded the only principle on which they could really be justified. For what was the meaning of the *virtus sacramenti*, which he professed to retain? The Church had supposed that it was that relation between the soul of the devout receiver and the Humanity of Christ, which was consequent upon the reception of Our Lord's Body and Blood through the consecrated elements. Now, if Calvin meant less than this, he did not recognize the influence of Our Lord's Humanity, and thus fell down into the system of Zuinglius, which he had censured. For he must suppose the benefit to be nothing but that general influence of God's grace, which is present in all ordinances. But if he meant as much as this, he was compelled to fall back upon that monstrous system of arbitrary reprobation which was previously noticed (cap. ii. p. 39). For, according to the last supposition, the *virtus sacramenti* is that relation which binds the soul to the Humanity of Our Lord, and which can be experienced by none but the devout communicant.³⁶ The *res sacramenti* (ac-

³⁵ Lehre vom Abendmahl, p. 413.

³⁶ This is expressly affirmed by Calvin. "Si pateret in eos Christo ingressus, omni ipsos reatu eximeret."—*Niemeyer*, p. 211. No doubt he

according to the Church-system) is partaken by all, because Christ's Presence depends merely upon the validity of consecration ; but the *virtus sacramenti* is that effect which follows from Christ's Presence, where there is a living relation between Him and the soul. It is by this living relation only that the branches hold to the root ; for the branch cannot partake the life of the tree except by living. If it be affirmed, then, that the *virtus sacramenti* does not follow in the way of effect from the *res sacramenti*, but is a result produced immediately by Almighty God in the soul, why is not the *sacramentum*, or external pledge, always accompanied by this consequence ? For what is meant by a seal, or pledge, which does not secure the conveyance of the thing promised ? Now, on Calvin's system, the immediate agency of Almighty God becomes the sole intervening link between the *sacramentum*, or external sign, by which He pledges Himself to confer a blessing, and the *virtus sacramenti*, or spiritual effect. Yet it is admitted on all hands, that men may partake of the outward elements, who do not share in the spiritual blessing. Now to put the intention of Almighty God in place of the *res sacramenti*, or actual gift, is to make Him

attempts to escape from the results of his system, by alleging the fault to be on man's side—but they are results which follow inevitably from his principle that sacraments are “organa quibus efficaciter agit Deus *in suis electis*.”—*Id.* p. 204. For he denies that Christ's sacramental presence is bestowed except upon those who have faith : “Christum absque fide recipi.”—*Niemeyer*, p. 211. And faith, he says, is not given, except to the elect. “Fidei nostræ origo et causa est divina electio.”—*De Prædestinatione*, Works, viii. 614. “Speciale domini est fides, quo rata fit Dei electio.”—*Id.* 608.

responsible for the failure. For why is not His promise always performed? There can be no reason assigned except that secret decree, whereby He assigns some of His creatures to mercy, and others to destruction.

It may be alleged, perhaps, as an objection to the preceding statements, that they suppose Calvin's system not to provide for the case of those who are predetermined by inevitable sentence to eternal life, but who approach the Holy Eucharist before their conversion.³⁷ It might be enough to answer, that this is only one form of a difficulty which attaches to the Calvinistic system at large. For what happens if such persons die before their conversion? If it be answered that He who has predestined them to life can ensure them against a premature removal, He can ensure them also against profaning His Holy Altar. But perhaps the better reply would be that such questions need not be answered: because all which is essential in any system is to explain its natural and normal action, to which difficult and provisional cases must adjust themselves by a general analogy. Such is the case in regard to the difficult question of adult Baptism. We know that in Baptism, Christ chooses men to be members of His Body, and

³⁷ The suggestion in article xx. of the Consensus Tigurinus is manifestly only a way of escaping the difficulty. "Fieri interdum potest, ut Sacrae Cœnæ usus, qui in actu ipso propter incogitantiam, vel tarditatem nostram parum prodest, fructum deinde suum proferat." Mr. Scott says that to receive the Holy Eucharist is "no duty" "to a man, who himself has not reason to conclude that he is a believer."—*Miscell. Letters*, p. 292.

bestows that gift of grace, whereby this union is effected. As infants by birth become members of the old man, so is it His gracious purpose to incorporate them at the same tender age into the New Adam. And as infants, being innocent of actual sin, can oppose no bar to His grace, we are sure that His merciful purpose takes effect, and that they become at once living members of His Body. But the case becomes more intricate, when we pass to the adult candidate for Baptism. What is the exact effect of the gift of grace, supposing that his impenitence puts a bar to its reception, and how far, and in what manner, the blessing remains suspended,³⁸ till its efficacy is brought out by his repentance, are points on which it is impossible probably to speak decisively. All of which we can be sure is, that the failure does not arise from the deficiency of God's grace, but from the impenitence of the receiver. For the sacrament, regarded in itself, has the same character as when it is ministered to infants who cannot oppose its efficacy. So that the nature of Baptism cannot be duly appreciated except by considering it under those normal conditions, where it acts without impediment. And the same limitation is applicable in the case of the Holy Eucharist.

The system of Calvin, then, was built upon a denial of the coherence between the *sacramentum*,

³⁸ De Lugo says, "De Baptismo videtur omnino concedendum, ablata fictione, seu obice, conferre suum effectum."—*De Sacramentis Dis.* ix. sec. iii. He quotes S. Aug. de Baptismo con. Donatistas, i. 12, iii. 13, vi. 5.

and the *res sacramenti*. And hence he was compelled to rest the presence of the *virtus sacramenti* upon the absolute decree of Almighty God, because he was unable to ground it upon the actual presence of Our Lord's Humanity. So that as Zuinglius allowed only a *Symbolical Presence*, because he admitted of nothing but a *sacramentum*, or external symbol, so Calvin may be said to have held only a *Virtual Presence*, because he detached the *virtus sacramenti*, or effect, from the *res sacramenti* or cause. Whereas, of course, the *Real Presence* is that which gives its due place to the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. It was stated how incompatible was Calvin's system with the very purpose of a Sacrament, which requires not only the existence of an outward and an inward part, but also that they should be truly joined together. It has been shown further, that it cannot be maintained without involving that dogma of absolute reprobation, which is inconsistent with the character of God, and which renders the statements of Scripture a nullity and a fiction. To represent the Almighty as publicly granting a charter to mankind at large, which He privately annuls by a secret article, is to attribute conduct to the God of truth, which would be discreditable to an earthly sovereign. And such a supposition is utterly overthrown by the manner in which the Church has always administered the Holy Eucharist. Her immemorial custom has been to testify to each receiver of the

consecrated elements, that the thing delivered to him is truly that life-giving Body, which Calvin supposed to be restricted to the elect; and to call upon the receiver to witness his belief by saying *Amen* to her words.

Whatever variety there may have been at different times in the words employed at the distribution of the elements, the greatest care was always used to secure that which the Bishops at the Savoy Conference speak of as the property of Sacraments, "to make particular obsequation to each believer." A specific direction on the subject occurs in the Apostolical Constitutions: "Let the Bishop deliver the oblation, saying, *The Body of Christ*, and let the worshipper say, *Amen*. Let the deacon hold the cup, and when he gives it, let him say, *The Blood of Christ, the Cup of life*; and let him who drinks say *Amen*."³⁹ The response is referred to as early as the time of Tertullian,⁴⁰ and is thus explained in the work on Sacraments ascribed to St. Ambrose. "The Priest says to you *The Body of Christ*, and you say *Amen*, it is true."⁴¹ To the same custom does St. Leo witness: "You ought so to partake of the sacred table, as not to doubt about the truth of Our Lord's Body and Blood. For that which is an object of our faith is the thing which our mouths receive; and it would be in vain for those to answer *Amen*, who

³⁹ Constit. Apost. Lib. viii. c. 13.

⁴⁰ De Spectaculis, sec. xxv.

⁴¹ De Sacramentis, iv. 5.

dispute against that which they receive.”⁴² The practice is further attested by all the Eastern⁴³ Liturgies, in which the response of the worshippers assumes often a most striking and emphatic form.

The system of Calvin agrees as little with these forms as it does with Holy Scripture. Their purpose is to assure each individual that the general blessing which God bestows in the Holy Eucharist is offered to his separate acceptance. His theory was, that nothing is really communicated in the act of administration, and that the consecrated elements are only a pledge or token of that which it is God's pleasure to do irrespectively of them in the souls of His elect. Indeed, the radical diversity between this system and the ritual of the Church, is shown by the antipathy ever manifested to it by the partizans of Calvin. The service for the Palatinate, previously quoted, contemplates no special application of the gift of Christ to every individual. “The minister,” it is said, “shall break the bread of the Lord for each person, and when he gives it him shall say, The bread which we break is the communion of the Body of Christ.”⁴⁴ This text is merely the expression of a general truth, but not the consignation of it to individual participants. And the same tendency is shown by the demand of the Noncon-

⁴² S. Leo, Sermo 89, sec. iii. p. 175.

⁴³ Vide Coptic Liturgy of S. Basil.—*Renoulet*, vol. i. p. 23. And the Greek, *Id.* vol. i. p. 83.

⁴⁴ Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung, A. D. 1611.

formists at the Savoy Conference ; “that the minister be not required to deliver the bread and wine into every particular communicant’s hand, and to repeat the words to each one in the singular number, but that it may suffice to speak them to divers jointly, according to Our Saviour’s example.”⁴⁵ It is clear that the effect of this change, which was happily resisted by the Bishops, would have been to countenance the system of Calvin ; for it would have abandoned that distinct protest against any separation of the outward and inward portions of the Sacrament, which the Church has embodied in her ancient form of distribution. And the wish of those who adopted Calvin’s theory, to avoid the repetition of these emphatic words to each individual, shows their instinctive consciousness of the tendency of such an innovation.

We have seen, then, what are the four perversions to which the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist is especially liable. They all arise out of inadequate conceptions respecting the relation between the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*—the Subject that is, and the Predicate in Our Lord’s words of Institution. For when the nature of these two terms is not appreciated, or when men deny the sacramental identity which obtains between them, the idea of a sacrament is nullified. To suppose with Zuinglius that Christ is not really present, is to exclude the inward part or thing signified. To

⁴⁵ Cardwell’s Hist. of Conferences, p. 321.

suppose, as the Capernaïtes did, that Our Lord's Body is designed to be present as an object to the senses, is to omit the notion of an outward form ; even though it should be believed, as it was apparently by Anastatius Sinaita, that the operation of men's senses is supernaturally obstructed. But again, it is not more necessary that the two portions should exist, than that they should really be joined together, yet discriminated from one another. So that to confound their office as Luther did, or separate their action with Calvin, is to overthrow the idea of their Sacramental union. For this union implies that the inward part should truly act through the outward ; and thus that their presence and influence should be that of one real though heterogeneous whole.

Such, then, is the relation between the outward part and the inward part, the Body of Christ and the consecrated elements, which has been described as sacramental identity. It implies that the *res sacramenti*, or inward reality, is so united to the *sacramentum*, or outward sign, that the last is the medium through which the first is communicated. This is the same thing as to affirm that the Real Presence of Christ is bestowed through the consecrated elements. And it may be observed in conclusion, that this term of a *Real* Presence embraces, in fact, every kind of Presence except those two—*Symbolical* and *Virtual*—which have been shown to belong to the theories of Zuinglius and Calvin.

For the notion of Luther, and even that of the Capernaïtes, were partial or perverted forms, under which the doctrine of a Real Presence was expressed. And the notion of the Capernaïtes is so alien to the very nature of a sacrament, that it falls to the ground as soon as it is stated: while that of Luther is so partial and self-contradictory, that it has found few genuine supporters. In proceeding further therefore into the subject, it will be the notions of a mere *Symbolical*, or of a mere *Virtual* Presence, which it will be needful to refute: that of a *Real* Presence, which it will be needful to establish. This shall be done by appealing to the testimony of Scripture and Antiquity against the two first, and in favour of the latter. But it will be necessary previously to inquire somewhat further into the nature of that Presence of Christ which it is proposed to maintain.

CHAPTER VI.

OUR LORD'S PRESENCE IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST IS
REAL, AND NOT MERELY SYMBOLICAL OR VIRTUAL.

It was affirmed at the close of the last chapter, that Our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist was not *symbolical* merely, or *virtual*, but *real*. I proceed to inquire further into the meaning of this assertion ; but, before doing so, it will be necessary to notice some other conditions of this sacred presence, by which its reality is at once defined and substantiated. Such are the statements that Our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist is *supernatural*, and not *natural*; that it is *sacramental*, and not *sensible*. These lead to the further assertion that it is *real*, and not merely *symbolical* or *virtual*.

First—To say that Our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist is supernatural, is to affirm that while His Humanity has a presence, which, except when He wills it otherwise, is accordant to the laws of material existence, it has also a Presence of another sort, which is independent of those laws.

The word *material* is used here as applicable to those things of which the senses are able, or fitted, to take cognizance. Some material objects, indeed, may be of so subtile a nature as more or less to elude our senses ; as is the case with various chemical agents, till they are detected by experiment ; but we mean by material, those things which the senses either discern, or might discern, consistently with their present character.¹ Now Our Lord's Human Body is not *subject* to the laws of material existence, because His Body is a glorified Body, and therefore not an object to our senses, unless such be His own will. That we do not commonly discern it is not owing, surely, to distance of place, but to the fact that glorified beings cannot be discerned by those who are in our present state, except at their own pleasure. When Our Lord was upon earth, after His resurrection, He was not always visible to His disciples. But that His presence, when He was pleased to vouchsafe it, was according to the laws of material existence, we know from His own declaration : "Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have." And with this Body did He enter into that heavenly state in which He will continue till the end of all things.

Now the natural condition even of a glorified body—the conditions, that is, which pertain to it by reason of its material character and human

¹ Vide Doct. of the Incarnation, Cap. x. 2. and additional note.

existence—are, that it is present under a definite form, and in a definite place. So we learn from the statements of Scripture and of the Church. Our Lord “shall so come, as ye have seen Him go into heaven.” “The heavens must receive” Him, “until the restitution of all things.” “He ascended into heaven,” says the Apostles’ Creed. And this truth is recognized in various places by the Fathers. So distinct are the statements of St. Augustin, especially in his Epistle to Dardanus,² as well of his countryman Fulgentius,³ that when they were brought forward by Œcolampadius, at the conference at Marburg, as arguments against the ubiquity of Our Lord’s Human Body, Luther could only reply, “You have Augustin and Fulgentius on your side ; but we have all the other Fathers on ours.”⁴ But these statements, though more pointed, are not really more conclusive than those of other writers, both in the Western and Eastern Church.⁵

Now, if Our Lord were a *mere*⁶ man, and had no mode of presence, except that which is accordant to the laws of material existence, it follows that He could not be present except in the place which He possesses in heaven. Any other mode

² Epis. 187. 10. Vide S. Aug. in Joan. Trac. 50. 13.

³ Ad Tras. 17. Bib. Pat. ix. 55.

⁴ Hosp. vol. ii. p. 126.

⁵ Vide Doct. of the Inc. p. 548, Ed. 3rd, p. 449, Ed. 4th.

⁶ Vide S. Cyril. in Joan. cap. vi. verse 64, vol. iv. p. 377. To this distinction S. Jerome refers, when he says, “*dupliciter Christi caro intelligitur; vel spiritualis illa atque divina . . . vel caro quæ crucifixa est, &c.*” He is discriminating Christ’s *supernatural* from His *natural* presence.—*Ad Eph.* cap. i. vol. iv. pt. i. p. 328.

of presence, which can be attributed to His human nature, must belong to it by reason of some peculiar privilege with which it is invested. And that His Humanity was likely to be invested with some peculiar privileges of this sort, we should gather from His own words, both before and after His Resurrection. This is surely the fullest sense of those expressions in which He speaks of Himself as about to come again: and of the perpetual presence which He pledged to His disciples.⁷ These things could not refer to His Godhead, which must always have pervaded both time and place by its unalterable presence.

We know, then, that after His Resurrection (to say nothing of its previous capacities) Our Lord's Body existed under conditions very different from those which are usual to men. "That was brought to pass respecting Our Lord's Body, which is impossible even to the glance of our sight—He conveyed it through a closed barrier. For after His Resurrection, when His disciples were gathered together in one place, He suddenly appeared, the doors being shut. Where our sight could not penetrate, His Body entered."⁸ Now, it is by virtue of those new qualities which Our Lord's Humanity has gained by oneness with Deity, that it exists under those conditions in which it is given to men

⁷ Vide St. John, xiv. 18, 28. St. Matt. xxviii. 20.

⁸ S. August. Sermo 277, sec. xii. vol. v. p. 1119. "Palpandam carnem præbuit, quam clausis januis introduxit . . . ut profecto esse post resurrectionem ostenderet corpus suum et *eiusdem nature*, et *alterius gloria*."—*S. Greg. Mag. in Ev. L. ii. Rom. 26. vol. i. p. 1553.*

in the Holy Eucharist. "He is the living bread," says St. Augustin, referring to St. John, vi. 51, "because," as He says, "I came down from heaven."⁹ And so St. Hilary : "that Flesh, *i. e.*, that bread, is from heaven ; and that Man is from God."¹⁰ And St. Ambrose in like manner rests the efficacy of the Eucharist on the truth of the Incarnation. "Why do you ask for the order of nature in Christ's Body ; inasmuch as Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself was born of a virgin, contrary to nature ? It was truly the Flesh of Christ, which was crucified and buried ; and therefore it is truly the sacrament of His Flesh."¹¹ This is a main part of St. Cyril's arguments against Nestorius. Our Lord's Humanity, he says, could not be that of a mere man, as Nestorius asserted, because if so, how could it be given to mankind as the principle of life, in the Holy Eucharist ? Now this assumes as its basis, that there is a peculiar presence of Our Lord's Humanity in the Holy Eucharist, the possibility and fruitfulness of which depend upon those new qualities, with which manhood is invested by its union with Deity. "If Nestorius," he says, "affirms that He who has appeared, is some other Son and Christ, and not God the Word, . . . does he not render our mystery to be the mere eating of a man's flesh ?"¹² Again, he asks, "Who was

⁹ S. August. in Joan. Tract. xxvi. 13.

¹⁰ De Trinitate, x. 23, p. 1051.

¹¹ S. Ambros. de Mysteriis, ix. 53.

¹² S. Cyril. Apol. adv. Orient. vol. vi. p. 193. The same argument is used against the Nestorians by Leontius. "Qui hæc sentiunt, cujus corpus et sanguinem se putant in communione sumere ?"—*Bib. Patr.* ix. 704.

He that saith, He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in him ? If He had been some mere man, and it had not been the very Word of God, which had been manifest in our nature, such an act would be the mere eating of a man's flesh, and the participation would be wholly unprofitable. For Christ Himself says, 'the flesh profiteth nothing. It is the Spirit which profiteth.' For as regards its own nature, flesh is corruptible. It cannot quicken others, being corruptible itself."¹³ So that he infers that the Being from whom flesh draws such quickening qualities, must be "the very Word of God." For this it is which has bestowed new gifts upon humanity, through the operation of the Holy Ghost.

All these, and numberless other passages, which might be quoted, proceed on the supposition, that by virtue of that union with Godhead, to which manhood was exalted by the agency of the Holy Ghost, Our Lord's Humanity possesses a character peculiar to itself, and that this circumstance renders it "the Bread of life."

It is true that the majority of these statements refer directly to those life-giving qualities of which Our Lord's Body is possessed ; but indirectly they witness also to that supernatural presence through which His influence is exerted. And both of these circumstances they attribute to that fact of the

¹³ S. Aug. Ep. 137. 11.

Incarnation, whereby "in Christ's person, Godhead and Manhood were commingled."¹⁴ For even before Our Lord's Body was bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, it was that present temple of God's Spirit, by means of which it could be said to the disciples, "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." And it was "through the Holy Ghost" that Our Lord before the Day of Pentecost "gave commandments unto the Apostles." This was the prerogative which attached to His human nature, because "in Him dwelt all the Godhead bodily;" and with it came those other marvellous endowments which the Gospel history records.

We find many statements therefore that Our Lord's Human Body was, in various respects, exempted from those laws by which humanity is commonly restricted. This was true both before and after His resurrection; the difference was that before His resurrection it was the exception when He was exempted from the laws of nature; that He should not be exempted from them is the exception since His resurrection. And the reason is, that "the Flesh of Our Lord is a life-giving Spirit, because it was conceived of the life-giving Spirit. For that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit."¹⁵ "He had a Body," says St. Hilary, "but one peculiar to its

¹⁴ Adv. Nestorium, iv. 5, vol. vi. p. 109.

¹⁵ S. Athanasius de Incarn. et contra Arian. xvi. p. 883. "The word 'Spirit,' in the new birth is not opposed to *all* flesh, but is identical with the Flesh of Christ."—*Palmer's Dissertations on the Eastern-Cath. Communion*, p. 219.

origin ;¹⁶ not owing its existence to the faults of human corruption, but subsisting, in the form of our bodies, through the power of His own virtue." And St. Cyril ; "If the meat be Christ's Body, and the drink be Christ's Blood, and yet, as the Nestorians say, He is a mere man, how can He be proclaimed to be for eternal life to those who come to the sacred board ; how can He be divided there and every where, and yet never diminished ? For a mere body can never be the fountain of life to those who partake it."¹⁷

Now it cannot be justly objected to such statements, that they attribute powers to Our Lord's Body which detract from the truth of His Manhood, and assign to it conditions which belong to Deity alone. That which is characteristic of Deity is not merely the capacity of evincing its power simultaneously in various places, for this belongs even to the human soul, which acts at once in all members of the body,¹⁸ but that attribute of *necessary* omnipresence, which is inseparable from the omnipotence of God. As it belongs to the idea of the Supreme Being, that it is impossible to restrict a dominion which knows no conditions, except those which are inherent in itself, so is it involved in the same conception, that He can neither be limited by duration, nor bounded by space. It is thus that we must discriminate the Infinite from the finite, the

¹⁶ Or perhaps, "which contained in itself the principle of its origin."—*De Trinitate*, x. 25, p. 1053.

¹⁷ *Λεγε μερίζεται πανταχού*.—*Hom. in Myst. Canon.*, vol. v., part ii. p. 378.

¹⁸ Or even beyond it perhaps ; for, "anima magis est ubi amat, quam ubi animat."

Creator from His works. It is no interference therefore with the inalienable prerogatives of Deity, to suppose that capacities of presence, far exceeding the ordinary conditions of nature, as well as other unusual gifts, should be bestowed upon a created substance. And on what of all created substances should they be bestowed so suitably, as on that Humanity which by personal union was one with God? Was it not the very principle of the Incarnation that the Infinite and the finite were brought face to face in the Person of Christ? It must be remembered only that whereas such capacities belong to Godhead by the necessity of its nature, they belong to manhood accidentally only, and by gift.

In this consideration lies the safeguard against that error of ubiquity which at times was advocated by Luther. Our Lord's Manhood neither did, nor could, participate in that Omnipresence, which is characteristic of Godhead; but He has been pleased to bestow upon it a certain capacity of presence beyond that which other bodies possess, that it may be the instrument of His own gracious will. Some of Luther's¹⁹ expressions would lead to the notion that Our Lord's two natures were confused together, just as Luther confounded the offices of the out-

¹⁹ As when he approves the words, "es ist alles fol leib Christi."—*Hospinian*, ii., 126. Luther's first work, which asserted the doctrine of Ubiquity, was his Treatise against the Sacramentaries, A.D. 1527. Vide *Hospinian*, ii. p. 79. He repeated his statements the next year in his Confessio Major. He affirmed that "nullibi sit, vel esse possit Divinitas, ubi etiam non simul realiter adsit, sive coexistat, assumpta Humanitas."—*Hospinian*, ii., p. 86.

ward and inward parts in the Holy Eucharist; whereas it has been truly observed that "the nature of the Word became Incarnate through His Person, not His Person through His nature."²⁰ He did not enter into relation with humanity by mingling Deity with it, but He brought it into relation to Godhead by uniting it personally to Himself. And therefore whatever gifts have been bestowed upon His man's nature, though they have been bestowed upon it as a result of that exaltation which accrued to it through the being taken into God, yet they have come as a special endowment, and by peculiar favour.

Although we meet therefore with statements that "the Body or Flesh of Our Lord has by personal oneness become God, without losing its original nature,"²¹ and that Our Lord consisted "of two contraries, flesh and spirit, of which the one conferred, the other received deification,"²² yet are they always qualified by the statement that it is the Divine nature which gives the flesh its efficacy, and that whatever of power or special presence the flesh possesses, is derived from the immediate appointment of Him who has taken it into Himself. "The nature of the flesh, considered in itself, could not confer life. Since otherwise what would be the superiority of

²⁰ "Non Deus Verbum [per] divinam naturam: sed divina natura per Dei Verbi personam, unita dicitur carni."—*Rusticus contra Acrophalos*. *Bib. Pat. Mar.* x. 366; and vide p. 359.

²¹ Damascenus de Imaginibus, i. 16, 19.

²² S. Greg. Naz. Or. 42, vol. i., p. 682 (Par. 1630.) Vide also S. Greg. Nyssen. Cat. Orat. 37, vol. iii. p. 105.

the Divine nature? So that even in Christ the flesh is not to be thought of alone, and by itself. For it has that Word, who is naturally life, united to it. When Christ calls it life-giving, therefore, it is not to it that He ascribes this power, but rather to Himself, or to His own Spirit. For it is through Himself that His own Body is life-giving.”²³ And on this account it is that Our Lord’s life-giving presence in the Holy Eucharist is properly described as *supernatural*. If it were His Godhead only which was bestowed in this sacrament, such presence and such mode of action would be exactly consonant to the laws of its nature. But since it is His Manhood to which these acts are ascribed, since they are attributed to a nature which is common to ourselves, and to which such powers are foreign, it is plain that they can belong to it only in a manner which is supernatural. So that the *natural* presence of Our Lord’s Humanity is in heaven, subject to the conditions of place and form, which are characteristic of other human bodies. But the presence of His Humanity in the Holy Eucharist is not accordant with the ordinary conditions which belong to man’s nature. He brings it about through that union which has taken place in His Person between manhood and Deity—it is peculiar and *supernatural*.

II. The second assertion was, that Our Lord’s Presence in the Holy Eucharist is *sacramental*, and

²³ S. Cyril in Joan. lib. iv. 3, vol. iv. p. 377.

not *sensible*. This is a consequence from the fact stated in the last Chapter, that the Subject and Predicate in Our Lord's words of Institution were united together by a *sacramental identity*. For this was shown to imply that the Holy Eucharist consisted of two parts, a *sacramentum* and a *res sacramenti*—the first an object to the senses, the second an object only to faith and to the mind. And further, it was shown to be the purpose of consecration, to unite these two together, so that they might have that peculiar relation to one another which belongs to this sacrament. Now, if these truths are admitted, it would be a contradiction to suppose either that the *res sacramenti*, or Body of Christ, could be an object to the senses, or that it could fail to maintain that relation to the *sacramentum*, or external part, through which the purpose of the Holy Eucharist is effected. So that Christ's Presence in this ordinance cannot be *sensible*, and must be *sacramental*.

And this fact supplies an easy solution of some difficulties which may arise in respect to the Holy Eucharist. Is it asked, for instance, whether Our Lord is present in this ordinance under a definite form, and in any particular place: the answer is found at once, by remembering that He is present *sacramentally*. It was shown under the last head that Our Lord is present in heaven, in a particular place, and under an especial form; that form,

namely, under which His Apostles beheld Him, and that place to which they saw Him depart, at the right hand of God. This is Our Lord's *natural* presence; in which He is a fitting object, when it pleases Him, to the senses of men. In this form He showed Himself to St. Stephen at his death, to St. Paul at his conversion, and to St. John in his exile. But Our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist is not natural, but supernatural; it is a *sacramental* presence—the presence, that is, of a *res sacramenti*, which is not, in itself, an object to the senses of men. We have no reason therefore to suppose that form and outline belong to it; because these are the conditions through which things become an object to the senses of men.

And yet there is one way in which Our Lord's Body may be said to be present with form and place in the Holy Eucharist. For there is a connexion between the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*, and form and place belong to the first, though they do not belong to the second. So that though the *res sacramenti*, in itself, has neither place nor form, yet it has them in a manner through the *sacramentum*, with which it is united. Christ's Body therefore may be said to have a form in this Sacrament, namely, the form of the elements, and to occupy that place, through which the elements extend. As the spirit may be said to be present in that place where the body is situated, and as light may be said to assume the shape of the orifice through

which it passes, so it may be said that the *res sacramenti* borrows place and shape from the *sacramentum*, with which it is united by consecration. Whether the constituent portions of light have any shape in themselves, and what is meant by the place of a spirit, are questions which philosophers can scarcely settle; and in like manner there are secrets respecting the *res sacramenti*, which must remain hidden from divines. But the effect of consecration, as we learn from revelation, is to join that which is outward and that which is inward; so that Our Lord's "blessed Body and Blood" is communicated, as the first Book of Homilies expresses it, "under the *form* of bread and wine."

III. And now, then, we may come to the third assertion, that Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist is *real*, and not merely *symbolical* or *virtual*. Such is the necessary consequence of believing not only in a *sacramentum* and a *virtus sacramenti*, but in a *res sacramenti* also. If the Holy Eucharist were nothing but a *sacramentum* or *symbol*, as Zuinglius maintained, the utmost which could be affirmed would be, that Our Lord's Presence was *symbolical*. If, as Calvin taught, the *virtus sacramenti* was all which was to be added, it would be natural to say that it was nothing more than a *virtual* presence. But if a *res sacramenti* be admitted, and that *res sacramenti* the Body of Christ, it is impossible to deny that He is *really* present. And hence it

must be supposed that such was the truth, which our Catechism was designed to inculcate, since it affirms that the inward part, or *thing* signified, is the Body and Blood of Christ.

And as this circumstance has dictated the *name*, so does it explain the *nature* of the Real Presence. The thing designed, is to affirm that Our Lord's Body, which is the *res sacramenti*, is the instrument through which those purposes are effected, which the Holy Eucharist is intended to perform. Not that a spiritual action is meant to be excluded: it will be shown, in a subsequent Chapter, how the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity co-operates at present in all acts of mercy with God the Son, in whose Incarnation He was formerly an agent. But besides this spiritual action, and independently of it, the agency of Our Lord's *Body* is mercifully employed, as being the *res sacramenti* in the Holy Eucharist.

This is a truth which neither Calvinists nor Zuinglians can recognise. For their systems not only do away with the *res sacramenti*, but they do not admit that supernatural presence of Christ by which only it is rendered possible. For if Our Lord's Manhood possessed only that natural presence which is common to Him with other men, His Body would be confined to that single form, and that individual place, which He occupies in heaven. And therefore, those who adopt the Calvinistic or Zuinglian theories, speak of Our Lord's *manifold pre-*

sence as a contradiction in terms, and impossible. No doubt it would be impossible on their principles; but not on the principles of the ancient Church. It is no contradiction in terms, to suppose that though Our Lord's *natural* presence is limited to one place, yet that such limitation does not apply to a presence which is *supernatural*. Neither is it reasonable in the Calvinists and Zuinglians to expect that the consequences of their definition should be accepted, where the definition itself is not received.

But it may be said, why is not the belief in Our Lord's spiritual presence as *God* sufficient; what necessity is there for admitting also the real presence of His *Body*? Now it is true that such a supernatural presence of Our Lord's Body is alien from the common laws of material action, and may seem almost to imply that the essence of a body is identical with its power. So that probably it would not be wrong to speak of Our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist as resembling a *dynamic*, rather than a *natural* presence. Yet we must be careful, as St. Augustin²¹ observes, not so completely to identify body and spirit as to deny the reality of either. For though the ultimate cause of all things be an Infinite Mind, yet body as well as spirit bears

²¹ It may be thought he said, that those who rise from the dead, "hoc ipsum quod corpus est per gloriam resurrectionis amittere, et spiritum fieri." But in this case, "metuendum est ne nihil aliud dici videatur, quam corpora non illâ mutatione immortalia mansura, sed nulla potius futura et omnino peritura."—*Ep.* cxlvii, 51. vol. ii. p. 494. And so St. Gregory the Great: "post resurrectionem corpus suum et ejusdem nature et alterius gloriæ."—In *Evan.* II. *Hom.* xxvi. 1; vol. i. p. 1553.

some true and mysterious part in the economy of creation. And the words of Scripture respecting Our Lord's Body must not be so explained as to be rendered nugatory. "This is My Body," not the power or efficacy of My Body, were Our Lord's own words. They were accepted in their literal sense by the holy Apostle. "The bread, which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?" And he speaks of "not discerning the Lord's Body." And in the same manner were they understood by ancient writers. "We ask," says St. Cyprian, "that our bread, that is, Christ, may be given to us daily, that we who abide and live in Christ may not depart from His sanctification, and His Body."²⁵ St. Cyril, in a passage already quoted, speaks of the effect of the Holy Eucharist to be that Our Lord "rendered His Body life-giving, being Himself, as God, the principle of life by nature, that by making us partakers of Himself, not only in spirit, but in body, He might render us superior to corruption."²⁶ And again,

"The Son cometh to be in us, bodily as man, being mingled and united with us by the mystical Eucharist, and again spiritually as God, re-creating our spirits to newness of life, by the energy and grace of His own Spirit; and making us partakers of His own divine nature. Christ thus appears to be the bond of union between us and God the Father, joining us to Himself as man, and as God being naturally inherent in the Father. For there was no other way in which the nature, which was subject to corruption, could be raised to incorruption, than by the coming down into it of that nature, which was superior to all corruption

²⁵ De Oratione Dominica, p. 192.

²⁶ Adversus Nestorium, iv. 5, vol. vi. p. 113; vide sup. Cap. iv. p. 103.

and mutability; so as to raise up to its own good that which always lay depressed, and by communion and intermixture with itself, almost to lift it out of those limits which pertain to created nature, by transforming to itself that which has no such native power. We are perfectly changed therefore into oneness with God and the Father, because Christ becomes the Mediator between us. For receiving into ourselves, both by the way of body and by the way of spirit, as I said just now, Him who is naturally and truly the Son, consubstantially united to the Father, we have the glory of partaking of that nature which is above all things."²⁷

As this passage discriminates between the action of Our Lord's Humanity and that of His Godhead, so does the same writer, in an adjoining passage, explain the principle upon which His Humanity acts. "That we might attain to oneness with God, and with one another, and might be joined together, though each of us individualized by his body and his soul, the Only-Begotten Son contrived a certain scheme, devised by His own wisdom, and by the counsel of the Father. For by bestowing a blessing upon all those who believe, through one Body, namely, His own, by means of the mystical reception, He renders them concorporate with one another, and with Himself."²⁸ Nor is this language confined to St. Cyril. St. Chrysostom speaks of it as the effect of the Holy Eucharist, "that we may not only be joined in Christ by love, but may be united in reality to His Flesh. And this is brought about through the food which He has given us; for wishing to show the desire which He has

²⁷ In Joan. lib. xi. 12. vol. iv. p. 1002.

²⁸ S. Cyril in Joan. lib. xi. 11, vol. iv. p. 998.

for us, He has by this means mixed Himself with us, and united His Body to us, that we might be one, as a body united to its head."²⁹ Now these passages cannot mean that Our Lord is only an object to men's thoughts, nor yet that He exercises a power which can be detached from Himself; they imply that He is present through His own essence. And since essence and substance are terms, which in their derivation are nearly identical, therefore various ancient writers have expressed this truth by saying, that Our Lord is *substantially* present. "That living bread, which descends from heaven," says St. Ambrose, "ministers to us the substance of eternal life; and whosoever eats of this bread shall not die eternally, and it is the Body of Christ."³⁰ And again, St. Cæsarius; "The invisible priest converts visible creatures into the substance of His own Body and Blood, by the secret power of His own word, saying, 'Take, eat, this is My Body.'"³¹

But then it is said this doctrine of a Real Presence is so strange and unnatural, that its acceptance is impossible. This objection was answered in the fourth Chapter, where it was shown that the Real Presence is not only possible, but that it is in harmony with the general system of the Gospel. No doubt it is a mystery that God should become man—that two natures, so distinct

²⁹ St. Chrysostom, in Joan. Hom. xlvi. 3, vol. viii. p. 272. Vide also Hom. xlvii. i. p. 275.

³⁰ St. Ambrose de Myst. viii. 47. ³¹ Hom. vii. de Pasch. Bib. Patr. viii. 825.

as the Infinite and the finite, should be united in one Person without the destruction of either. This is a truth, the more marvellous the more it is contemplated; and which nothing but faith in God's power and wisdom can enable us to accept. But let this truth be admitted, and why should we be surprised that the Manhood, which has been so mysteriously assumed, should be the instrument in God's works of mercy? For otherwise, so far as regards that great part of His work of Mediation, which depends upon His agency towards His brethren of mankind, Our Lord's Manhood would have become an inoperative mystery. And when it is remembered what is that mysterious relation which we bear to the first man, and that Our Lord has taken the title of the "Second man," or the "last Adam," what can be more accordant with the whole principle of the Gospel, than that as death is propagated through the flesh of the one, so life should be disseminated through the Flesh of the other?

And it should never be forgotten, that all the theories which can be adduced respecting Christ's Presence, finally resolve themselves into the three which have been described: His Presence is either *Symbolical*, *Virtual*, or *Real*. A Symbolical Presence contains no difficulties, certainly, in itself, but neither does it contain any sacredness; it is in truth no Presence at all; and, therefore, to reconcile it with Scripture, with antiquity, or with the analogy of the faith, presents insuperable difficulties.

But a Virtual Presence presents exactly the same difficulties as a Real Presence, while its advocates cannot appeal to the testimony of Scripture, and of the Fathers. That an influence should emanate from Our Lord's Human Body, which can take up its dwelling in the consecrated elements, is just as strange as that Our Lord's Body should possess a supernatural, as well as a natural mode of Presence. This difficulty Calvin's system has no tendency to mitigate; its real peculiarity, supposing the principle of a Virtual Presence to be honestly maintained, is only that it provides a new account of the manner in which this supernatural gift is distributed. The ancient Church supposed that the gift depended upon the act of consecration, and the commission of the priesthood—Calvin affirmed that it was assigned to His favourites by the arbitrary decree of Almighty God. This theory enabled him, no doubt, to leave the *elements* out of account, but it brought in a greater difficulty—the dogma of absolute reprobation. So that if the system of a Virtual Presence is to be made to harmonize with the teaching of Scripture, and of the Church, it must still be a Virtual Presence *through the elements*. And this presents the same difficulties as the doctrine of the Real Presence, without possessing the same authority. Neither should we overlook another advantage of a practical kind, which follows from the peculiar character of the mystery of the Real Presence.

The Holy Eucharist, like the Incarnation itself, is thus rendered an *objective fact*, which has an existence independently of our conceptions and feelings. This circumstance is rendered far more manifest by its relation to the external world, than it would be if its operations were wholly of a spiritual nature, and lay entirely within the region of our thoughts. And thus we are likely to betake ourselves to it with greater humility, as feeling that it is a gift, to which we can contribute nothing. For though our unbelief may rob us of its advantages, yet in itself it is independent, not of our co-operation only, but even of our concurrence. This has been observed to have been a peculiarity of the Incarnation also; in which manhood was purely passive, and the Godhead the sole actor. "The union of the two natures was brought about, not by both, but by the Deity alone." So that we may apply, in a measure, to the Holy Eucharist, that which the same author goes on to observe of the Incarnation. "The union between us and God is not like that which takes place in the Prophets, and in some others, where we labour and co-operate, while divine grace holds out the hand; it is inexpressibly different."³²

Such, then, is the doctrine of the Real Presence; or that Christ's *Body* is a medium through which He bestows spiritual blessings. Its characteristic truth is that Christ's Presence is owing to the

³² Rusticus contra Acephalos. Bib. Pat. x. p. 366.

presence of His Body. And, here, therefore, we may see a distinction between Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, arising out of the fact that the last depends, while the first does not depend, upon consecration. For it may be said that the God-man is present in Baptism also, seeing that in that sacrament He not only exerts His spiritual power, but that men are thereby joined to His mystical Body. The difference between them is that Christ's Body is present in Baptism, only because *He* is present, with whom it is personally united; but in the Holy Eucharist the presence of Christ's *Body* is the reason why He Himself is present. "*In illo sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi.*"³³ So that in the one sacrament there is a *res sacramenti*, but not in the other: Christ may be *said* to be present in Baptism, He is *really* present in the Holy Eucharist.

This diversity between Baptism and the Holy Eucharist is further illustrated by the different manner in which the benefits, which accrue from them, are expressed in Scripture. It has been already observed that the gift in Baptism is bestowed through the *ordinance* at large; but that in the Holy Eucharist it is bestowed through the *elements*. For the Holy Eucharist consists of a *sacramentum* or outward sign, a *res sacramenti* or thing signified, and a *virtus sacramenti*, or consequent result; while in Baptism, the grace bestowed

³³ St. Ambros. de Myst. ix. 58.

is the whole inward portion. Now the Scriptural promises that a spiritual benefit shall attend Baptism, are associated with the ordinance at large; whereas, instead of any Scriptural promise that a spiritual benefit shall attend the reception of the Holy Eucharist, we have, first, an assurance that the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified, shall be bestowed; and, secondly, an assertion of the effects, which the due reception of this inward gift is fitted to produce.

The slightest reference to the Scriptural statements on the subject will make this manifest. "Baptism" is said, in express words, "to save us." "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." "The washing of regeneration," is coupled with "the renewing of the Holy Ghost." On the other hand, there is not a single passage which connects the reception of the Holy Eucharist at large with the gift of the Holy Spirit. But Our Lord's words of Institution, and St. Paul's statements to the Corinthians, assure us that the outward sign is the means of conveying the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. And the blessings which result from the due reception of this *res sacramenti*—i.e. Christ's Body—are stated in various places by St. Paul; and by Our Lord Himself, in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel.

One consequence of the manner in which this subject is mentioned in Scripture is, that on the principles of Zuinglius, who did not admit the exis-

tence of a *res sacramenti*, we could have no assurance that the Holy Eucharist is beneficial. His followers, therefore, are driven to rest its observance either upon the fact that it is a positive command, or upon the effect which it is calculated to produce upon the mind of the receiver. Thus the most prominent ordinance of the Gospel is represented either to be purely a ceremonial observance, like the ordinances of the law, or to be a mere acted sermon. Perhaps it may be said that St. Paul's words—"we being many, are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread"—are equivalent to a promise of spiritual benefit. They certainly are so, if inherence in the mystical Body of Christ implies the reception of spiritual blessings. But how can this be believed by those, who suppose that Church-membership is merely an admission into the list of Christians? If to be a member of the mystical Body of Christ implies the reception of spiritual blessings, it must be because the mystical arises out of the natural Body of Christ. This cannot be believed by those who, like the followers of Zuinglius, deny that any present influence is exerted by Christ's glorified Body. To them, therefore, the words of St. Paul can convey no particular promise: his assertion would imply, merely, that a certain ceremonial act is the badge by which men are known to be members of the Christian society.³⁴ So that nothing

³⁴ Sacraments, according to Zuinglius, were only signs by which a man proves himself to the Church to be a Christian.—*Ide* cap. ii. p. 34.

has more perplexed the Zuinglian writers than to prove, against their Socinian opponents, that the Holy Eucharist is attended by any spiritual blessing. Neither can they give any real answer, except that the reception of this sacrament is a duty; and that those who attempt to discharge a duty, may always expect to receive grace.

And here, therefore, we may *sum up* the result of our comparison between the three kinds of presence—Symbolical, Virtual, and Real. The Emperor Charlemagne might be said to be present *figuratively*, or *symbolically*, throughout his vast empire, because justice was everywhere administered in his name: He was present throughout it *virtually*, for such was the energy of his character, that his influence was everywhere felt: but *really*, he was only present in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. If Our Blessed Lord's Humanity had no other than that *natural* presence which belongs to common men, His *Real* Presence would in like manner be confined to that one place which He occupies in heaven. But by reason of those attributes which His Manhood possesses through its oneness with God, He has likewise a *supernatural* presence; the operations of which are restricted only by His own will. And His will is to be present in the Holy Eucharist; not indeed as an object to the senses of the receiver, but through the intervention of consecrated elements. So that His Presence does not depend upon the thought and imaginations of men, but

upon His own supernatural power, and upon the agency of the Holy Ghost. He is present *Himself*, and not merely by His influence, effects, and operation; by that *essence*, and in that *substance*, which belongs to Him as the true Head of mankind. And therefore He is *really* present; and gives His Body to be the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified.

CHAPTER VII.

OUR LORD'S PRESENCE IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST SHOWN
TO BE REAL, AND NOT MERELY SYMBOLICAL OR
VIRTUAL, BY REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH CHAPTER
OF ST. JOHN.

HITHERTO the inquiry has been built upon Our Lord's words of Institution, as explained by the belief and practice of the ancient Church. Hence followed the validity of consecration, and as a further consequence, that the gift was bestowed through the consecrated elements. The next step was to show that this gift was the presence of Christ. Again, it resulted from the same premises that the relation between the Gift bestowed and the consecrated elements, that is, between the *res sacramenti* and the *sacramentum*, or between the Predicate and the Subject in Our Lord's sentence of Institution, was that of sacramental identity. And hence it has been shown finally, first, that Our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist is not *symbolical* merely, or *virtual*, but *real*; and secondly, that this Real Presence of Our Lord is not bestowed

naturally, or under the same form and character which belongs to Our Lord's Body in heaven, but *supernaturally*, or under the form of bread and wine.

It is now time to take a wider range, and to authenticate these statements by reference, as well to other passages of Holy Scripture, as to the general judgment of the ancient Church. The first of these authorities shall be considered in the present Chapter; the two following chapters will be given to the second.

There are three main passages of Holy Scripture, in which the nature of this sacrament is explained—the words of Institution in the Gospels—the tenth and eleventh chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians—and the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel. The two first of these have already been referred to, though it may be observed, further, that several expressions occur in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, besides the words of Institution, from which the truth of the Real Presence might be deduced. The statement, “he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body,” is incompatible with the denial that Christ's Presence is really vouchsafed. The especial judgments which followed (sickness and death), implied that this was more heinous than other acts of profaneness: yet what would have been its peculiar enormity, unless the thing profaned had been really

the Body of Christ. Again, St. Paul's mode of speaking accords perfectly with that belief in the co-existence of a *sacramentum*, and a *res sacramenti*, which has been shown to be intimately allied with the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ. For he speaks of that which is received, sometimes as "this bread,"—"this cup;" sometimes as "the Body and Blood of the Lord," which is the inward part, or thing signified.

But the portion of Holy Scripture in which this subject is most largely treated, is no doubt the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel; and it will be by comparison with the expressions which there occur, that we shall best appreciate the scriptural character of the preceding statements. Yet, as it has often been denied, strange as it may seem, that Our Lord's discourse in the sixth of St John was intended to refer to the Holy Eucharist, it is necessary first to substantiate this point, and then to show that Our Lord's words sanction the doctrine of the Real Presence.

The ground upon which this passage of Scripture has often been denied to refer to the Holy Eucharist, is that the words were spoken by Our Lord before the institution of this sacrament. This appears indeed to be the only ground for disputing that, which otherwise could hardly be questioned. And a singular ground it is, when taken by parties who allow Our Lord's absolute foreknowledge; and therefore admit His perfect familiarity with the

institutions and fortunes of His coming kingdom. Moreover, it proceeds on an entire forgetfulness of the peculiar character and purpose of St. John's Gospel. When the beloved Apostle addressed himself to gather up the fragments which remained, after His brethren had fallen asleep, it is obvious that his design was to illustrate those great doctrines, which he perceived to be the characteristic features of the Christian Faith. These doctrines are especially three; the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity—the beginning and basis of all knowledge; the doctrine of Our Blessed Lord's Incarnation—the medium whereby divine gifts were imparted to man's nature; the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments—the instruments, that is, whereby those treasures which have been stored up in the Humanity of the Son of God are to be communicated to His brethren. The slightest study of St. John's Gospel shows that his purpose was not merely to add some few facts to the narrative of Our Lord's life, nor yet to arrange that which was known in a more methodical order, but to bring out those statements of Our Lord, on which the mysteries of the Faith were dependent. "This most wise Evangelist, when instructing us in these wonderful mysteries, fitly introduces Our Saviour Christ as the first source of that which is to be taught respecting them, that Our Lord's authority might silence opponents."¹ For the discourses of

¹ S. Cyril in Joann. Lib. iv. 3. vol. iv. p. 372.

the Son of Man were full of pregnant expressions, which were dropped as seed into the soil of men's hearts, to flourish and ripen at a distant day.

How many things are recorded even by the three earlier Evangelists, respecting which we read, "they understood none of these things; and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken!" How little did the Apostles themselves enter into the nature of that kingdom, in which the mother of the two disciples entreated for them the foremost place! How imperfect must have been their appreciation of the manner in which, like leaven, it would influence the whole mass of man's nature, and grow like the mustard seed, till it overshadowed the earth! Yet Our Lord was pleased to communicate such truths in abundance, and St. John's Gospel is composed of little else. There is not a chapter in it, which would not be unintelligible, to those who supposed that they were only listening to a Jewish peasant of extraordinary depth and thoughtfulness; and were ignorant of the wonderful mystery that in His Person, "God was manifest in the flesh." What could such men understand by Our Lord's declaration, that He was "the light of the world;" that their "Father Abraham rejoiced to see" His "day;" that He "came down from Heaven," that He and His Father were one? Even to the Apostles, though partially acquainted with the mystery of Our Lord's nature, these things, as we are as-

sured, were dark and uncertain; although they "trusted that it should have been He, which should have redeemed Israel." "These things understood not His disciples at the first, but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of Him." But to the people at large, who supposed Him to be "the carpenter's son," whose father and mother they knew, such expressions must have been wholly unintelligible. They were not like those general statements in the Sermon on the Mount, which appeal to the common principles of man's moral nature; they had their basis in that fact of Our Lord's Incarnation, which was a secret to the multitudes. Yet Our Lord continually referred to truths which depended upon this deep mystery, as well as to its connexion with His future sufferings. And such statements St. John gathered together, many years afterwards, for the edification of the Church. Why should we be surprised, then, to find allusion to that doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, which was the central point in the worship of Christians? And was it not rather to be expected that St. John would have added a caution that this custom was not referred to, if Our Lord's words had no reference to a practice, which from the first occupied so large a part in the thoughts and attention of Christians?

These grounds for supposing that Our Lord was referring to the Holy Eucharist, are greatly strengthened by reference to His prediction re-

specting the efficacy of Christian Baptism. One difference of course existed between the cases—for whereas the Holy Eucharist was an ordinance wholly without precedent, Baptism, on the other hand, had been usual among the Jews. Nicodemus, therefore, expresses no wonder at the mention of water, though he was at a loss to understand how he could be born again: whereas Our Lord's statement that He would give them His Flesh to eat and His Blood to drink, surprised the Jews even more than His declaration that He was Himself the channel, through which they were to receive heavenly graces. But as to the full nature and import of these holy rites, it is manifest that one was as little understood antecedently to the institution of Christian Baptism, as the other was before the Last Supper. "There can therefore be no presumption drawn against the application of this Chapter to the institution of the Lord's Supper, from the time when the doctrine was delivered, which would not equally militate against the application of the third Chapter to the Sacrament of Baptism: an application which is, notwithstanding, universally allowed."

Bishop Cleaver goes on to point out the singular coincidence in manner and arrangement which runs through the Chapters in which these two Sacraments are predicted.²

"Our Saviour had told Nicodemus that he must be born again.

² "Three Sermons on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," by William (Cleaver), Lord Bishop of Chester (Oxford, 1801, p. 25).

Nicodemus replies to the impossibility of the thing in the obvious and literal sense of the words. Jesus in answer, with peculiar solemnity and claim to attention, points out the possibility and the means of being born again; as well as the necessity of such regeneration. 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' To which, still remarking upon the want of apprehension in Nicodemus, He adds, 'if I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things.'

"In the sixth chapter, Jesus had said, 'the bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.' The Jews again answering, as Nicodemus had before done to the impossibility of the thing in its literal sense, said, 'How can this man give us His flesh to eat?' To which Our Lord returns an answer, corresponding to that given to Nicodemus, even to the very turn of the sentence; 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you:' the purport of which words is repeated and confirmed in the three next verses, to which He adds, still remarking upon their want of apprehension, 'Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before.' A reply so exactly parallel to that with which he had concluded His conversation with this master in Israel, that the bare juxta-position of these sentences will render each the comment upon the other. From which analogy I cannot but think that whoever will observe the style, manner, and connexion of these two discourses, will be of opinion that St. John took pains industriously to show that the two institutions, which were to distinguish this religion, made part of Our Saviour's plan, long before they were actually en-joined."³

³ This relation between the third and sixth chapters of St. John, and their connexion with the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, is pointed out by St. Gregory Nyssen. "We who have been instructed by the sacred voice, 'that unless a man has been born again of water, and of the Holy Ghost, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God;' and that he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, he shall live for ever—we have been persuaded that by the confession of the sacred names, I mean the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the mystery of Godliness is accomplished; and that by communion in the mystical customs and symbols, our salvation is secured."—*Cont. Eunom. Or. xi. vol. ii. p. 704.* On this subject, vide "*Palmer's Dissertations on the Eastern-Catholic Communion,*" Diss. xiv. p. 212, and *S. John Damascene, De Fide Orthod. iv. 13. vol. i. p. 267.*

The above considerations render it not unnatural, at all events, that Our Lord should have taken this occasion of instructing His disciples respecting one of the mysteries of His future kingdom. They show that there is no antecedent improbability in giving such an interpretation to His words. But what positive evidence is to be had on the subject? It is plain that the question must be decided by two considerations—either by the natural force of the words, as understood by any one, or by the sense put upon them by the Church. The first will be to appeal to each man's private judgment; the second, either to listen to the Church as an authorized teacher, or to admit that at all events the stream was likely to be clearest when it was near its source. But before inquiring to what conclusions these principles would conduct, let us consider what are the exact statements in this chapter, which it is proposed to interpret.

The disputed part of this chapter begins with the thirtieth verse, in which the Jews applied to Our Lord for some sign, on which to rest their faith in Him. But having already given them a sufficient sign in the miracle of the loaves, Our Lord, instead of complying with their demand, laid before them some deep truths, which it required an earnest personal affection, and a firm conviction of the authority of His teaching, to enable men to accept. In the twenty verses, therefore, which follow (verse 30–50), Our Lord affirms the great

truth of His Mediation, and tells the Jews that this was the reality, of which the gift of manna was a sign. He states to them that the relation between man and God, on which depended man's happiness, was only to be maintained through Himself as the Mediator: that into His man's nature the Godhead had poured its gifts, and thus had constituted Him the real food and sustenance of men's souls. This was the fact which it had pleased God to exhibit by way of type, when He fed His people with manna in the wilderness. And He Himself, by coming into the world, had brought down among them the true principle of spiritual existence.

It seems to have been Our Lord's intention by this statement to sift the faith of His hearers, and to lay open to themselves those who had followed Him merely from curiosity, or the hope of worldly benefit. That such persons were present is obvious from the result; and that they understood well enough the general tenor of His statement appears from their remarks. They perceived Him to say that in His person the Godhead in some way or other had come down among men: nor did they complain that the assertion was unintelligible, though they withheld their belief. "They said, is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How is it then that He saith I came down from heaven?" The statement, then, which is contained in these verses, is that of Our Lord's Mediation; a statement which the Jews

found no difficulty in understanding, but which their ignorance of the wonderful mystery of His Incarnation, and their indifference to the wisdom and power of His words and actions, led them to disbelieve. But in the fifty-first verse Our Lord passes to another subject. "The clause, 'the bread that I will give is My flesh,' if it is not a decided transition to another topic," says Olshausen, "is yet plainly an advance to some further point in the discourse."⁴ So that whereas from the 30th to the 50th verse, Our Lord had declared nothing but the general truth that He was the Mediator, through whom all divine gifts were bestowed upon men, He adds a further truth in the eight following verses (51-58), and declares that the eating of His Flesh and the drinking His Blood is the method by which these gifts are to be received.

The point in dispute then is, whether these last eight verses refer to the Holy Communion or no. Those who suppose them to do so will naturally understand Our Lord to have made a prophetic statement respecting a truth, (universally admitted by the ancient Church), which St. Cyril thus expresses: "Our Lord's very Body was sanctified by the power of the Word which had been united to it; and it is thus rendered effective for us for the purposes of the mystical Eucharist, so as to be able to implant in us its own sanctification."⁵ Those

⁴ Olshausen in *Loco*.

⁵ S. Cyr. in Joan, lib. xi. 9, vol. iv. p. 979. So St. Athanasius, "ἡμεῖς καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου θεοποιούμεθα, προσληφθέντες διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ."—*Oratio* iii. 34, vol. i. p. 584.

who deny that Our Lord's words refer to the Holy Eucharist, have commonly asserted that to eat His Flesh was a parabolical expression, by which was meant either to profit by the benefits of His death, or to receive His doctrines.

The one of these interpretations (that to eat Our Lord's Flesh was to profit by His death) has been thought plausible, because the Jews were familiar with the idea of eating that which had been offered in sacrifice. Since Our Lord, therefore, had said He would give His Flesh for the life of the world, they might be supposed, it is said, to gather that He would give it as a sacrifice. But this is merely to adduce one unknown thing as the explanation of another. So that this interpretation cannot be consistently maintained by those who make it an objection against referring this passage to the Holy Eucharist, that the Jews would have been unable to understand it. For Our Lord had said not a syllable about His death, and what should the Jews know of His efficacy as a victim? When He predicted that as Jonah was three days in the whale's belly, so would He be three days in the heart of the earth, what idea would His words have conveyed to persons who were unacquainted with Jonah's history? And how was it possible, in like manner, for the Jews to draw conclusions from facts respecting Himself, of which they were ignorant? Besides, even if the Jews had been so far informed respecting Our Lord's coming sufferings, as to at-

tach the meaning suggested to the eating His Flesh, what could they understand by the command to drink His Blood? "Though we have some obscure hints of the blood of sacrifices drunk in the necromantic rites of the Pagans, the Jewish law particularly forbids the use of blood. The injunction, therefore, to drink His blood, would with a Jew have its peculiar difficulties. Nay, the prohibition of blood in the Mosaic law, either generally in the way of sustenance, or as a part of their sacrificial feasts, is grounded upon its being the means of atonement."⁶ So that even if the Jews could have understood Our Lord's declaration respecting the eating His Flesh, without knowing the fact of His atoning death, they could not have understood His statement that they were to drink His Blood, without contradicting the very principle to which He is asserted to have made reference.

These considerations supply unanswerable proof that Our Lord could not have addressed these words to the Jews, with the intention that they should understand Him to refer to the benefits which were to be conferred by His atoning death. Indeed, this interpretation must have been first suggested by the institution of the Holy Eucharist. For the only reason why to eat Our Lord's Flesh and drink His Blood can be supposed to be identical with the profiting by His sacrifice, is because the sacramental act is an ordained means of participating in

⁶ Bishop Cleaver's Sermons, p. 29.

the value of His sufferings. So that this interpretation, instead of implying that Our Lord did *not* refer to the Holy Eucharist, implies that this was the very thing to which He was referring. It is an inadequate explanation of Our Lord's words, and does not express the whole truth which they communicate, nor account for the prominence given to a mode of expression, which must seem singularly forced and unnatural, unless the reality of the Holy Eucharist be admitted; but it would be wholly inadmissible, had not Our Lord referred to that fact of the Holy Eucharist, by which alone it could be justified.

The other interpretation however, that by the eating of His Flesh Our Lord meant the receiving His doctrines, has been more commonly maintained by those who deny His words to refer to the Holy Eucharist. It has been said that this was the meaning which a Jewish audience would naturally attach to the expression; and such passages have been referred to as Ecclesiasticus, xxiv. 21. "They that eat Me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink Me shall yet be thirsty." So that as Whitby expresses it, "to eat of the bread which came down from Heaven," is "to believe in Christ breaking the bread of life to us by His doctrine." For, the same writer maintains, "among the Oriental and Jewish writers, *to eat* is used as a symbol of the food of the soul." Here, then, is a notion which would exclude all reference to the Holy Eucharist, and

which is rested on the idea which Our Lord's words must have conveyed to His original hearers.

The first objection which suggests itself to this interpretation, is that the words appear not to have been understood by the Jews. If this was all which they were calculated to convey to an Oriental hearer, why did the Jews strive "among themselves, saying, how can this man give us His flesh to eat?" And if their error did not arise from want of faith, but because they did not appreciate the force of an ordinary image, why did not their gracious instructor set them right by altering His metaphor? The statement of Our Lord's Mediation, v. 30-50, they understood, but rejected; they did not complain that it was unintelligible, but asserted it to be unfounded. But when this statement was added, they could attach to it no meaning. "This is an hard saying, who can hear it." It is plain, therefore, by the judgment of the Jews themselves, that this was not the ordinary way of expressing the familiar truth, that Our Lord would instruct them by His doctrine.

Neither is there a shadow of evidence for saying that any such meaning could naturally have been deduced from such expressions. To eat wisdom, may be taken as a metaphorical expression for receiving it, but there is no single instance in which to eat any man's flesh is used as equivalent to the receiving his doctrine. Parabolical as was the language of some of the Prophets, they never

employed such a metaphor⁷ as this; nor is a single example of a like kind to be found among the writings of the Apostles. "I am confident," says Bishop Cleaver, "there is no fact, no custom, no rite, no doctrine, and no expression in Scripture, prior to the institution itself, which will give any explication of this Our Saviour's assertion: 'My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed.'"⁸ In every instance, in which to eat a person's flesh is spoken of in Scripture, to injure or destroy the party referred to, is the idea conveyed. So it is in Psalm xxvii. 2. "When the wicked came upon me to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell." And so does St. James use it: "the rust of them shall eat your flesh, as it were fire." No single instance can be produced either from Classical or Oriental sources, in which this phrase is used in any other sense than that of consuming or preying upon the person spoken of. Gesenius⁹ gives these as the sole interpretations of the phrase, '*to eat any one's flesh*,' which his great acquaintance with the Semitic languages supplied. Nor is this extraordinary; for metaphorical language is the language of nature, and must have a counterpart in those realities of which it is the expression. Now, "to ruminate upon and digest the instructions of another, is as

⁷ "ὅτι σάρκα τις ἔφαγεν, οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς εἶπεν ἐκείνων."—S. Chrysostom *In Joan. Hom.* 46, 2. p. 272.

⁸ Bishop Cleaver's Sermons, p. 29.

⁹ "Das Fleisch jemandes essen für: gierig seyn nach seinem Blute, von wilden grausamen Feinden. Ps. 27. 2. (vgl. Hiob. 19. 22.) Sein Fleisch verzehren, für: sich abhärten, vom Neidischen. Koh. 4. 5."—*Hebraisches und Chaldaisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 101, A.D. 1834.

easy and obvious a language as the subject admits, . . . but to *eat* the body, and *drink* the blood of your teacher, *as such*, bears no conceivable analogy to any benefit to be received from thence, and is in truth a saying, not only hard in point of doctrine, but in point of interpretation also. . . . As much in vain is it to say, that to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a benefactor, has for its object only a more solemn and awful remembrance of him. Until the patrons of the one or the other hypothesis can produce some matter or some allusion, in sacred, or at least profane writ, which will better warrant their suppositions, the assertions will find as little credit as they have foundation.”¹⁰

But it has been affirmed that this interpretation is not so destitute of authority as it is of reason; and Whitby and others have represented it to have had various supporters in the early Church. It is essential to examine the grounds of this assertion. For if it can be shown that the contrary was the fact, there will remain no kind of reason for doubting that Our Lord's words had reference to the Holy Eucharist. Now it must be remembered that He speaks of two things in this Chapter; first, of the general fact of His Mediation, and that His Humanity was the medium through which divine graces found their way to mankind; secondly, that the eating His Body and the drinking His Blood

¹⁰ Bishop Cleaver, p. 27, 28.

was the method in which this gift was to be participated by individuals. It is necessary to bear this distinction in mind, when we interpret the statements of the ancient writers. Those who refer merely to the former of these two doctrines, and observe that all graces are derived from Our Lord's Mediation, were not bound to make any allusion to the latter, or to decide whether Our Lord's statements respecting His Body and Blood had reference to the Holy Eucharist. Now, of the writers who are alleged to have been unconscious that the Holy Eucharist is referred to in this place, not one has given a detailed explanation of it; the most which can be said is, that they have made casual or incidental allusions to some part of Our Lord's words, leaving their estimate of the rest uncertain. But the earliest ancient writers who profess to give a detailed exposition of the whole Chapter—St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and St. Cyril—while they refer the former part, vi. 30-50 to Our Lord's Mediation at large, avowedly refer the latter part, v. 51-58, to that peculiar institution of the Holy Eucharist, by which He communicates Himself to His members.

The two earliest writers who are referred to by Johnson, as identifying this passage with a prediction of the Holy Eucharist, are St. Ignatius and St. Irenæus.¹¹ Both of them dwell on the truth that Our Lord's Body, as communicated in the Holy

¹¹ Unbloody Sacrifice, cap. ii. sec. v. vol. i. p. 496. Anglo-Cath. Lib.

Eucharist, is the renewing principle by which His people are to be quickened both in body and soul. The Holy Eucharist, says St. Ignatius, is "the medicine of immortality,"¹² and St. Irenæus speaks of it as the cause of the resurrection.¹³ It is usual with these writers, especially with the former, to refer to Scriptural statements, without quoting their exact words; and such is the course adopted in the present instance; but, as Johnson observes, this line of thought could be suggested only by the 6th of St. John. Waterland, however, objects that such an idea might be drawn from the statement of St. Paul, I. Cor. x. 16. But the expressions of both these writers are directly founded upon the words of St. John, whereas their connexion with those of St. Paul is extremely remote. And were it otherwise, the suggestion of Waterland implies everything which Johnson is interested to establish. For if St. Ignatius and St. Irenæus allow Our Lord's Humanity to be the medium through which His spiritual blessings are communicated, and that the Holy Eucharist is the occasion on which this gift is imparted, they adopt the system, which those who deny that Our Lord was speaking in this place of the Holy Eucharist, are designing to refute. For there are two main systems, according to which it is supposed that spiritual gifts are communicated. The one implies

¹² Ad Ephes. sec. 20; vide also Ad Smynæos, sec. 7.

¹³ Book v. sec. ii. 2, 3.

that blessings are bestowed by God upon men by individual gift, as a consequence indeed of Christ's death, but through that separate process, whereby the Almighty holds communion with each man's spirit. The other supposes all blessings to be embodied in the Humanity of the Word, and from Him to be extended to His members. It is from an unwillingness to admit this last truth, that the application of the 6th of St. John to the Holy Eucharist has been disputed. For here the process is more clearly laid down than in any other part of Holy Scripture. We have first the grand truth that the Word is the medium, through which the Deity communicates Himself to His creatures, and that this communication takes place through His coming down upon earth, and manifesting Himself among men. And then it is added, v. 51-58, that to partake of His sacred Flesh, is the method by which men enter into relation with Him, just as by birth men partake of that old nature, which has been transmitted to us by Adam. Now those who accept the fact which is here laid down, will feel little interest in denying that it is revealed in St. John's Gospel. If men seek another interpretation of these words, it is because they dispute the doctrine conveyed in them. For this doctrine is so momentous, and lies so completely at the root of the whole Christian system, that if it be real, nothing can be more probable than that it should have been announced by Our Lord. So that since

St. Ignatius and St. Irenæus certainly taught this doctrine, how could they fail to connect it with St. John's words?

As we advance further, we find hardly a single writer of consequence, by whom this chapter is not connected with the Holy Eucharist. It is so by Tertullian, who establishes the relation of "our daily bread" with this Sacrament, by referring to Our Lord's words, "I am the bread of life."¹⁴ St. Clement of Alexandria quotes some of Our Lord's memorable expressions, as introductory to a mention of the Holy Eucharist. "The Lord provides for us food from Himself. He offers flesh, and pours forth blood, and nothing is wanting to the children's growth."¹⁵ St. Cyprian founds his remarks on the Holy Eucharist upon the fact that "Our Lord Himself preached and warned, 'I am the bread of life which came down from heaven.'"¹⁶ St. Cyril of Jerusalem in like manner rests his interpretation of this sacrament upon what was "said by Christ on a certain occasion discoursing with the Jews."¹⁷ St. Hilary says, when treating of the Holy Eucharist, "there is no room for doubting about the truth of His Flesh and Blood," because Christ "Himself says, 'My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed.'"¹⁸

The only thing which can be set against these decisive statements is, that some ancient writers

¹⁴ De Oratione, 6.

¹⁵ *Pædagogus*, i. vi. p. 123. (Potter.)

¹⁶ De Oratione Dominica, p. 192.

¹⁷ *Myst. Cat.* iv. 4.

¹⁸ De Trinitate, viii. 14, p. 955.

speak of the Body and Blood of Christ in connexion with that spiritual communion with Himself, as the source of truth and knowledge, which is not limited to those occasions on which the Holy Eucharist is administered. The most explicit passages which Whitby can cite are four, which he refers respectively to St. Jerome, St. Athanasius, Eusebius, and Origen. The first passage may be dismissed as being spurious; and the two last could not be of great weight, because derived from authors of dubious authority. But more may be said than this. For it must be remembered that the sixth chapter of St. John speaks of two things; one, that Mediatorial function, whereby Our Lord reveals Himself as the principle of life to men; the other, the communication of His Flesh and Blood, as the means whereby His gifts are imparted. Now it has never been disputed that Our Lord may communicate Himself when and how He will, and that where men are devout members of Him by sacramental communion, He renders their whole life a continual union with Himself. As to partake Christ sacramentally, without faith, would not be profitable, so faithful men, who are debarred the Holy Eucharist, are perpetually partakers of Him. “*Quidam non manducantes, manducant: quidam manducantes non manducant.*” This circumstance supplies a reason why Our Lord’s Flesh and Blood are spoken of, without making it necessary to resort to the

strange notion, that these terms are fit metaphors for expressing His doctrines, His grace, or His favour. Between Christ and His members there is a *personal* relation; from Him flows all grace, which is received by them with all thankfulness. The Holy Eucharist is the appointed mean by which this union is maintained; and therefore when men are unavoidably debarred the privilege of sacramental communion, the Eucharist may very naturally be referred to, as indicating the nature and course of that benefit which it pleases God to bestow through extraordinary channels. This is only to say that though the *res sacramenti* is the appointed mean of conveying the *virtus sacramenti*, yet *virtue* issues from Our Lord as the fountain of grace, in any manner which pleases Him. When the Body and Blood of Christ are spoken of, as imparted to those who in this extraordinary manner are brought into relation to Christ, it is not because Flesh and Blood are employed as metaphorical terms for expressing grace or doctrines, but because the Holy Eucharist, being the Sacrament of Christ's Flesh and Blood, suggests the order in which other gifts are communicated. So that such expressions, instead of excluding the Holy Eucharist, imply that it is referred to, since it supplies the groundwork out of which they are constructed.

These remarks are applicable in a great measure to the passages quoted by Whitby. When Origen says, referring to St. John, vi. 64, that "we are

stated to drink the Blood of Christ, not merely in the use of sacraments, but also when we receive His words, in which our life consists,"¹⁹ he is referring plainly to the Holy Eucharist, though he supposes the chapter to speak also of that personal relation to Christ, which the Divine Mediator can bring about without the use of instruments. And this is all which he or the other two writers can be intending, because all three of them contain express statements that the Holy Eucharist is referred to in this chapter. The passage which Whitby cites from Eusebius²⁰ is neutralized by another from the commentary of the same writer on Isaiah,²¹ in which he quotes Our Lord's words in direct connexion with the Holy Eucharist. And so Origen, in another part of his commentary on Numbers: "then the Manna was a typical food, but now the Flesh of the Word of God is exhibited as true food, as He Himself also says, for 'My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed.'"²² So likewise the passage which is quoted by Whitby²³ from St. Athanasius, is interpreted by another statement of that Father. "Our Lord has taught us in His prayer to seek while we are in this world for the *super-substantial* bread, that is, for the bread which shall be hereafter; of which we have the first-fruit in this present life, when we partake the

¹⁹ In Numeros, Hom. xvi. 9. vol. ii. p. 334.

²⁰ De Ecclesiastica Theologia, iii. 12. p. 180.

²¹ Montfaucon's Collectio Nova, vol. ii. p. 586.

²² Hom. vii. in Num. 2. vol. ii. p. 290.

²³ Ep. ad. Serap. iv. 19. vol. ii. p. 710.

Flesh of Our Lord, as He Himself said, ‘the bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.’ ”²⁴

Another author may be referred to, as a proof that the expressions of ancient writers are to be understood according to their general sentiments. St. Basil, in one passage²⁵ of his works, goes further almost than any one, in identifying Our Lord’s Flesh and Blood rather with His benefits in general, than with that particular communication of Himself which is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist. Yet elsewhere no one is more distinct in asserting that Our Lord’s words refer to the Holy Eucharist. “It is good and profitable to communicate daily, and to be a partaker of the sacred Body and Blood of Christ, inasmuch as He Himself says distinctly, ‘he who eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, hath eternal life.’ ”²⁶ And he quotes²⁷ the fifty-third and fifty-fourth verses, as supplying a rule for those who come to the Holy Eucharist.

There is no ground at all, then, for Whitby’s assertion, that his theory had supporters in the ancient Church. The great mass of authors connect the mention of Our Lord’s Flesh and Blood with the Holy Eucharist exclusively, and those who occasionally apply them more loosely, have been shown not to exclude this primary interpretation. Hence Water-

²⁴ De Incarn. et contra Arian, xvi. vol. ii. p. 883.

²⁵ Epis. viii. 4, vol. iii. p. 84.

²⁶ Epis. xciii. vol. iii. p. 186.

²⁷ Initium Moralium, Regula 21. 1. vol. ii. p. 253.

land has introduced another theory, by way of neutralizing testimonies too direct and numerous to be disputed. He maintains that the thing referred to in this chapter is not the Holy Eucharist, but the general benefits which are bestowed by Christ, of which this sacrament is only a particular channel. Now it has been shown that the sixth chapter of St. John consists of two parts—first, we have a general statement of Our Lord's Mediation, v. 30-50, and then a declaration that the Holy Eucharist is the medium through which its benefits are communicated, v. 51-58. But Waterland's theory makes no account of the latter set of expressions, and therefore is less satisfactory even than that of Whitby; which attempts, however inadequately, to grapple with the difficulties of the case. Whereas Waterland gives no reason why the ancient writers²⁸ should have considered these words to be so plainly relevant to the Holy Eucharist, that they almost invariably quote them in this relation. How came they thus to employ them, unless they supposed that this was the natural force of the words: or how could they venture to give this meaning to Our Lord's words, unless such had been their received interpretation? In-

²⁸ In addition to those already quoted, vide S. Gregory Nyssen contra Eunom. Or. xi. vol. ii. p. 704. Ib. in Ecclesias. Hom. viii. vol. i. 457. Julius Firmicus de Errore Prof. Rel. 19. Bib. Pat. iv. 171. S. Ambros. de Fide, iv. 124, vol. ii. 543. Ib. de Benedict. Patriar. ix. 39, vol. i. 525. Ib. in Psalm 118, Sermo 18. 28, vol. i. 1203. S. Gaudentius, Trac. 2, ad Neoph. Bib. Pat. v. 946. Maximus Taurin. Hom. xlv. p. 138. S. Jerome on Ephes. cap. i. vol. iv. part i. p. 328. Theophilus Lib. Paschalis II. in S. Jerome, vol. iv. part ii. p. 714. S. Epiphanius ad Hær. ii. 1, 6. S. Macarius Hom. iv. 12, Gallandi, vol. vii. 16. Theodoret Hist. Eccles. iv. 11.

deed, Waterland himself does not absolutely deny that Our Lord may have referred to the Holy Eucharist; and it is obvious that the terms employed would not have been a natural mode of expressing the general benefits which He bestows, unless the Holy Eucharist had been the appointed medium of conveying them.

Waterland's theory, however, could never have been introduced, were it not that in the earliest ages we have no direct commentary upon this Chapter, and consequently have no detailed explanation of the purpose with which Our Lord spoke. And therefore his theory falls to the ground at once, when we come to those writers who have occasion to explain at length what was believed to be Our Lord's intention. The first of these is St. Chrysostom; whose commentary is most distinct in its statements, that from the 51st verse, where Our Lord introduces the subject of His Body and Blood, He is referring immediately to the Holy Eucharist. The earlier part of the Chapter, St. Chrysostom says, may be explained in general of those blessings which were bestowed by the Mediator. "The bread of life is Our Lord's salutary doctrine, and faith in Himself, or His own Body."²⁹ These things are all involved in the system of the Gospel when viewed at large. But when he comes to the 51st verse,³⁰ he thinks it necessary to account for the fact, that Our Lord should have spoken of a topic

²⁹ S. Chrys. in Joannem. Hom. xlv. 1, vol. viii. p. 270.

³⁰ Id. p. 271.

which at the time it was not possible for His hearers to understand. And the purpose of that Holy Sacrament, to which he says Our Lord is here referring, is explained thus: "I have become a partaker of Flesh and Blood for your sakes; again that very Flesh and Blood by which I have become akin to you I give back to you."³¹ To show the full force of his comment it would be necessary to transcribe it all. A few words from the conclusion of it may suffice:—

"What, then; is not His Flesh flesh? Certainly it is. What does He mean then by saying, that flesh profiteth nothing? He does not speak about His own Flesh. God forbid. But He speaks about those who receive what is spoken in a fleshly manner. Now what is it to understand the thing in a fleshly manner? It is to look simply at that which lies before us, and not to conceive of anything beyond. This is to look at things in a fleshly manner. For we ought not to judge only by what is visible, but to discern all mysteries with our inner eyes, that is to say, spiritually. Is it not so, that unless a man eats His Flesh, and drinks His Blood, he hath no life in him? How, then, can it be said that the flesh profiteth nothing, without which we cannot live? You see that the words, the flesh profiteth nothing, are not spoken of His Flesh, but of the hearing Him in a fleshly manner."³²

The next commentator, St. Augustin, assumes, as St. Chrysostom did, that this Chapter refers to the Holy Eucharist. There are expressions in his Commentary respecting which something shall be said presently, which are capable of being understood in a Calvinistic sense, but not a word occurs which implies him to have doubted that Our Lord designed to speak respecting the Holy Eucharist.

³¹ P. 273.

³² Id. Hom. xlvii. sec. 2, p. 278.

When he comes to the 51st verse, he notices and accounts for the fact that Our Lord left the Jews in ignorance respecting the nature of that spiritual food, which His Church was to receive through this sacrament.

“ ‘If any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever; and the bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.’ How should fleshly people understand this, in that He calls bread by the name of flesh? That is called flesh, which the flesh cannot receive; and the reason why the flesh cannot receive it, is because it is called flesh. For they were horrified at this; they thought it a hard saying; they supposed it impossible. The faithful know what is meant by the Body of Christ, if so be that to Christ’s Body they neglect not to pertain.” Whereas the Jews, he goes on to say, were ignorant “how He was to be eaten, and what was to be the manner of eating that bread.”³³

Another Father who has left a lengthened commentary on this Chapter, is St. Cyril of Alexandria. His statements are not only important, from the full and distinct manner in which they express his own opinion, but also because his explanation of this Chapter was sanctioned by the authority of the third General Council. He seems, like other ancient writers, to have taken entirely for granted that Our Lord was referring to the Holy Eucharist. “What is it which Christ promises? Nothing corruptible, but rather that Eucharist which lies in the reception of His sacred Flesh and Blood, whereby man obtains the gift of immortality. . . . The sacred Body of Christ gives life to those in whom it is, and preserves them for immortality,

³³ S. Augus. in Johan. Tract. xxvi. 13, 15, p. 499, 500.

by being mixed with our bodies. For it is understood not to be the Body of any one else than of Him, who is naturally life, having in itself the whole power of the Word who has been made one with it."³¹

Again, after referring to various ancient miracles, and observing that these events ought to have taught the Jews that God's dealings are above our comprehension, he remarks upon the 54th verse :

"These statements may show us Our Lord's long-suffering, and the abundance of His mercy. For without taking offence at the narrow-mindedness of the unbelievers, He gives them again in full measure the life-giving knowledge of His mystery. . . . In what way He will give them His flesh to eat, He does not yet teach, for He knew them to be as yet in darkness, and not yet strong enough for the mystery. But very seasonably He shows them what blessings will arise to them from eating, that perhaps he might teach them how to believe, by infusing into them a desire to live through a sense of its unbounded happiness. For if they only believed, to understand would soon follow. For so says the Prophet Isaias, 'if you will not believe, you shall not understand.' Faith, therefore, must first be rooted in them, and then would come an understanding of the things of which they are ignorant ; and inquiry must not precede faith. Therefore I suppose Our Lord omits to tell them in what manner He will give them His Flesh to eat, and calls upon them to believe previously to investigation. For when He spoke to those who already believed, He took bread and brake, and gave it to them, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body. In like manner giving the cup to all of them, He said, Take, and drink ye all of this, for this is My Blood of the testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. You see that He does not explain the nature of the mystery to those who were without thought, and had no searchings after faith ; but to those who already believed He is found to have given a clear explanation. Let those hear then, who from want of wisdom have not yet received the faith of

³¹ St. Cyril in Joan. Lib. iii. 6. vol. iv. p. 324. (On verse 35.)

Christ. Except ye shall eat the flesh of Christ, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. For those persons are wholly without share or taste of the life of holiness and happiness, who have not received the Son through the mystical Eucharist. For He is life by nature, inasmuch as He has been born from the living Father. And His sacred Body is not less life-giving, since it has been in some unspeakable manner made one with that Word which gives life to all things.”³⁵

The preceding quotations show that the only Fathers who have left full explanations of the sixth Chapter of St. John, supposed Our Lord to have referred directly to the Holy Eucharist. It has been previously shown, that the casual allusions of other ancient writers, are no ground for supposing them to have entertained a different opinion, though the different nature of their subjects did not lead them to such precise explanations. For since Our Lord spoke both of His Mediation at large, and also of this particular mean of profiting by it, to accept the first truth did not imply that the second was disbelieved. But when we come to these three commentators we are left in no doubt respecting the prevalent interpretation of Our Lord's words. The importance, however, of St. Cyril's testimony does not stop here. For these, it may be said, were but the statements of individuals, and may have failed to represent the judgment of the whole Church. But St. Cyril's interpretation of this Chapter was introduced into the letter, which as President of a Synod at Alexandria, he addressed to Nestorius, and which was read with approbation

³⁵ Comment. in Joan. Lib. iv. 2. vol. iv., p. 361.

at the Council of Ephesus. So that in referring Our Lord's words to the Holy Eucharist, we are not only borne out by the private testimony of ancient writers, but have the highest sanction which can be given to any interpretation of Scripture, in the approval of one of those General Councils, which express the mind of the Spirit and the authority of the Church.

"We celebrate the unbloody sacrifice in our Churches; we approach the mystical Eucharist and are sanctified, being made partakers of the sacred Flesh and the precious Blood of our common Saviour Jesus Christ. Now this we do, not as though we received common flesh. God forbid. Nor as though His Flesh were that of a man who was sanctified, and united to the Word by oneness of desert, or in whom God abode by indwelling; but as supposing it to be truly life-giving, and really the Flesh of the Word Himself. For being naturally life as God, since He has become one with His own Flesh, He has rendered it also life-giving. So that when He says to us, verily, verily, I say unto you, 'except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of man and drink His Blood,'—we cannot suppose this to be like the flesh of a man such as ourselves. For how should a man's flesh be naturally life-giving?"³⁶

The considerations which have been alleged are so decisive, that it may well be asked how it can have been doubted that the sixth Chapter of St. John was designed to refer to the Holy Eucharist. Those whom the words themselves do not satisfy of their mysterious import, might be expected to be struck at the manner in which the Jews received them: those who are less attentive to the natural force of expressions than to their traditional import, must be influenced by the concurrent testimony of the Primitive Church. For while Our Lord's words are interpreted of the Holy Eucharist by well-nigh

³⁶ Harduin, vol. i., p. 1289.

every ancient writer, there is not a single ancient writer by whom this interpretation is denied. And the ancient is shown to be the natural interpretation, because the various explanations which have since become prevalent, may be accounted for by reference to the peculiar circumstances of those by whom they have been introduced. They have originated with persons who had a theory to support, which the natural and received meaning of this passage was thought to oppose. "In the middle ages we find no other interpretation than that of St. Chrysostom. It is observable that the Bohemians, following the traditional application of the passage to the Lord's Supper, deduced from it the necessity of administering the communion in both kinds."³⁷ Hence the received interpretation was called in question by Caietan, and others after him, because this Chapter was used as an argument against them by the disciples of Huss. "The Cardinal supposed, says Johnson, that if John, vi., were understood of the Eucharist, it would imply a necessity of communicating children, which I have shown to be a groundless supposition; but that which I believe weighed most with the Cardinal was, that if this text be understood of the Eucharist, it will follow that there is a necessity of the Cup as well as the Host."³⁸ Later writers in the Roman Obedience have defended their

³⁷ Vide Lücke's *Geschichte der Auslegung der Stelle*, vi. 51, in his *Commentary on St. John*, vol. ii., p. 730.

³⁸ Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, cap. ii. sec. 5, vol. i., p. 525.

practice by reference to the doctrine of concomitance, which implies Our Lord's Blood to be present wherever His Body is; and also by the example of the early Christians, whose habit was to receive the Holy Eucharist in their houses, under one kind only; but for a time Caietan's interpretation was popular with writers of his communion. But since it was obviously an expedient which was only introduced for a polemical purpose, it cannot pretend to express the original intention of Our Lord's words.

The same may be said of Luther's opposition to the primitive interpretation. It was shown (cap. v.) that Luther's theory united two incompatible principles—it asserted the sacredness of the Holy Eucharist, but denied its efficacy. It is manifest, therefore, how little he was likely to sympathize with a passage,³⁹ the very purpose of which is to point out the efficacy of this Holy Feast, and to show its relation to Our Lord's Mediation. It supplied the quotations, therefore, which were mainly brought against him by his opponents at Marburg: they took for granted that a person who admitted the *reality* of Our Lord's Presence, could not doubt that it must be alluded to in a chapter in which it appears to be so directly taught. Luther seems to have given some surprise to his own partizans by the manner in which he parried this attack. "In

³⁹ "This passage breaks your neck," said Zuinglius to Luther in the Conference at Marburg.—*Eberard*, vol. ii. 323.

his contest with Carolstad, Zuinglius, and Ecclampadius, he boldly denied that this passage had any relation to the Lord's Supper, and maintained that it had reference only to the spiritual participation of Christ by faith and love."⁴⁰ Here then, as in the case of Caietan, the received interpretation was abandoned for the sake of a theory. Such forced explanations do but set off the simplicity of that more natural application, which has on its side as well the obvious force of the words, as the testimony of antiquity. Certainly, if St. John did not design to refer to the Holy Eucharist when he recorded this discourse of Our Lord, his Gospel must be unintelligible to simple readers, since they could not fail to attribute this sense to his words. So that this is an instance in which the first and plainest interpretation can make its appeal to present reason as confidently as to the authority of the past.

So much respecting a subject which required to be considered at large, not so much on account of its ambiguity as of its importance. For though other passages of Holy Scripture speak plainly respecting the truth of Our Lord's Presence, there is none which dwells with equal fulness on its efficacy. We must now proceed to show that, allowing this chapter to contain a prophetic allusion to the Holy Eucharist, it will follow that, Our Lord's Presence is *real*, and not merely *sym-*

⁴⁰ Lücke ubi sup. p. 730.

bolical or *virtual*. And this will be rendered more manifest, by observing the consistency of this passage with those other statements that Our Lord is present *supernaturally*, and *sacramentally*, of which His *Real Presence* has been shown to be the result.

Now that Our Lord's Presence is *supernatural*, is the truth affirmed by Himself in the sixty-third verse of the sixth chapter of St. John. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." He affirms, that the instruction which He communicated to His hearers was something borrowed from that principle of spiritual life, which in His Manhood had come personally into the world. For "in Him was life, and the life was the light of men." The meaning of this verse is not, as some have imagined, that Our Lord has really no share in man's sanctification—that great work belonging exclusively to the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity—for, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, the functions of these Blessed Persons are coincident, and not successive; so that the one mercifully co-operates, according to the order of His office, in that which is performed by the other. By *spirit*, then, in this place, is meant Our Lord's Divine, as opposed to His human nature: He explains to His wondering disciples that those miraculous effects which were to attend the reception of His Flesh and Blood, would not arise from their natural influence, but from that supernatural effi-

cacy with which they were endowed, by means of their Personal oneness with His Godhead. "The word *Spirit* in Our Lord," says Bishop Bull, "is uniformly employed in Holy Scripture and in the writers of the first age, to express that Divine nature in Himself, to which it properly pertained to give life to mortals."⁴¹ So that the truth here revealed is, that Our Lord's Manhood was to be the principle of life, by reason of that Godhead with which it was united. This statement was not intended, then, to detract from the reality of those functions which were to be discharged by His Flesh and Blood, but only to explain the principle and cause of their efficacy. And therefore Our Lord refers to the exaltation of His glorified Body into heaven, as a sign of those new qualities with which it was to be invested. "If you suppose that My Flesh cannot give you life, how can it ascend like a winged thing into heaven? For if it is not able to give life, because it has no natural tendency to do so, how can it tread upon the air, and ascend into heaven? For this is equally impossible to flesh. But if it ascends, contrary to the law of nature, what is to hinder it from giving life, though it has no tendency to do so by its own nature? For He who has made *that* heavenly, which belongs to the earth, can enable it also to give life, though by its own nature it tends to corruption."⁴²

⁴¹ De Necessitate Credendi. v. 5. p. 38. And so "πνεῦμα ζῆσιν αὐτόν."—S. Cyril, iv. 376.

⁴² S. Cyril in Joan. Lib. iv. 3 (on verse 62), vol. iv. p. 375.

These words, then, express distinctly that Our Lord's Presence is *supernatural*; that His Body and Blood are not present in the Holy Eucharist according to that law or in that manner under which flesh and blood usually exist, and in which we suppose His glorified form to exist in heaven. And other portions of the same passage tell us that Our Lord's Presence is *Real*, as well as supernatural. Such is the fifty-fifth verse—"My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed." "A true exposition," says Olshausen, "which gives the meaning of the text before us, must confess, however alien may be the result from its own views, that Our Lord is unquestionably speaking here about the participation of His Humanity." Our Lord's Presence cannot therefore be supposed to be merely symbolical or figurative: something more must be designed than that He is an object for the thoughts of mankind. But a still more important verse is the fifty-seventh, in which Our Lord is pleased to express the reality of that gift which He bestows upon His people, by a measure drawn from the highest of all rules—the blessed Trinity itself. "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me."

The relation of Our Lord to the Father is here expressed in two ways: first, by that temporal mission into the world, which took place in the moment of His Incarnation; secondly, by reference to

that eternal relation whereby the perfections of the eternal Father are perpetually communicated to His co-equal Son. For the name of Only-begotten Son belongs to Our Lord, because He is the express image and effulgence of the eternal Father; because as the Father is God, so the Son by natural right is God also. Our Lord is pleased to declare, then, that as life is inherent in His Godhead, because it flows into Him according to that eternal law whereby He is naturally the Son of the Father; so does He impart it in like mysterious manner to those who, by the communication of His Manhood, are one with Himself. "If I," He says, "have become flesh (for this, He means, by His being sent), and as I live through the living Father (that is, by retaining the nature of Him who begot Me in Myself), even so he, who through the reception of My Flesh receives Me, shall live in himself; being altogether transformed into Me, who am able to engender, because I spring from a life-giving root, that is, from God the Father."⁴³ So that the gift which Our Lord, as man, imparts to His people, is in some sort a measure of that which, as God, He hath eternally from the Father. And hence, doubtless, arose the statements of the ancient Church, that Our Lord bestows Himself *substantially* in the Holy Eucharist, inasmuch as to be of one substance

⁴³ S. Cyril in Joan. lib. iv. 3, vol. iv. p. 366. St. Ambrose says, in reference to the same passage, "Similitudo etiam nostra ad Filium, et quædam secundum carnem unitas declaratur; quoniam quemadmodum Dei Filius a Patre, sic homo est vivificatus in carne."—*De Fide*. B. iv. cap. 10. 128.

with the Father, is the characteristic of His Godhead. So that no expressions which refer only to the actions of a *power* which emanates from Him, or which represent Him as only *virtually* present, can come up to the full force of His own merciful declaration. It is possible indeed that the Power and Substance of the Supreme Being may in some unknown manner be identical, so that His *dynamic* may be equivalent to His *substantial* presence. But when Our Lord's *virtual* is opposed to His *real* presence, it must be imagined that there is some diversity between them; so that the analogy must be supposed to be drawn from those material bodies, the *effect* of which can be discriminated from *themselves*. Now no illustrations drawn from material objects can express the full truth which Our Lord has been pleased to reveal. The sun, to speak popularly, is present throughout space by the power of its rays; yet its rays are something different from the orb itself. They are, it may be, the effect of its heat and lustre: but so soon as they are shot forth they are detached and distinct from the body whence they proceed. But if Our Lord's Presence is *dynamic*, it is because it is *substantial*: it is nothing which can be detached from Himself; it is the Presence of a Person, not the effect of a power. As His Godhead flows into Him by necessary derivation from His eternal Father, so does He assure us that He communicates His Manhood by

merciful gift to His earthly brethren.⁴¹ Thus are there three stages in this great work. The Godhead imparts itself to the co-equal Son. This is His eternal generation. The Son unites Himself to man's nature. This is His Incarnation. He communicates His Manhood to His brethren. This is His Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. As the first, then, is the communication of that *substance* which is common to the Three Persons in the blessed Godhead, so is the last the *substantial* communication of that manhood which has been hallowed by the taking it into God.

The doctrine of the Real Presence was said to involve one further point—that Our Lord's Presence is *Sacramental*. Now it will be found that this expression not only accords with the statements of the Chapter before us, but that it supplies the key to difficulties, by which it would otherwise be perplexed. A difficulty presents itself in the fifty-first and following verses, from the very high importance which Our Lord ascribes to the eating His sacred Flesh. He speaks of it as if its participation were not only a signal blessing, but as if those who partook of it were sure of their salvation. "Whoso eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." And yet we know from St. Paul that those who receive the same unworthily, "eat and drink

⁴¹ "Vivit per Patrem, et quo modo per Patrem vivit, eodem modo nos per carnem ejus vivimus."—*S. Hilary de Trinit.* viii. 16, p. 957.

their own damnation." To avoid this difficulty, Waterland supposes that Our Lord was speaking, not of the gift of the *res sacramenti*, but only of the *virtus sacramenti*. This he expresses by saying that the passage refers to spiritual, and not to sacramental eating. He considers, that is, that Our Lord is speaking of the benefits which will finally be obtained by good men, but not of any gift which is peculiar to the Holy Eucharist.

This introduction of the receiver perplexes the inquiry, since it ought first to be determined what is the gift bestowed by Almighty God in this sacrament. Is it meant that the *virtus sacramenti* is merely that general assistance of divine grace which accompanies all ordinances? This is Waterland's theory, which, though clothed in pious expressions, is identical with that of Zuinglius. But it fails to do justice, not only to the interpretation put upon this passage by ancient writers, but to the mysterious and emphatic words of the passage itself. Why should Our Lord's Body be spoken of as the principle of life to the soul, unless something more were intended, than that it had once been offered on the cross for the sins of men? Such expressions cannot be rested merely upon the analogy of the Jewish Law, first, because that Law supplies no analogy for the drinking of Our Lord's Blood; and secondly, because such a course would be to make the Law the reality, instead of the Gospel. It is only because there is a real communication of

Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, that the relation which takes effect between Him and the devout soul can be expressed by phrases so singular as eating His Body and drinking His Blood. The reality of the *res sacramenti*, that is, gives significance to the otherwise unmeaning phrases employed respecting the *virtus sacramenti*. So that to imagine the general assistance of God's Spirit to be all which is intended, fails to account for the expressions employed by Our Lord and His Apostles.

Now, if to avoid this difficulty we raise the *virtus sacramenti* into something specific and peculiar, and suppose it to be that relation to Our Lord's Humanity, which results from His office as the Second Adam; if we ascend, that is, from a dead to a living Christ; from the mere fact that mankind were benefited by His former sufferings, to the truth that they are partakers of His present glory; —then we must either admit the existence of a *res sacramenti*, or we must fall back upon the Calvinistic hypothesis, previously explained (p. 143), and make the Divine decree the link between the external sign and the inward benefit. This hypothesis was shown to have been introduced in order to do justice to the language of Scripture, without admitting that principle of consecration which implied that a gift was always bestowed, but that it was improved only by the devout receiver. So that unless men are prepared to accept the unscrip-

tural dogma of reprobation, they must of necessity admit the presence of a *res sacramenti*, and the reality of consecration.

Now to accept these two principles is the same thing as to affirm that Our Lord is present in the Holy Eucharist sacramentally. And the admission of a sacramental presence will be found to explain all the difficulties of the Chapter before us, and especially that which is grounded upon the greatness of Our Lord's promise. It supposes that two things, dissimilar in kind, are mystically joined together by consecration. The outward part consists of the sensible creatures of bread and wine; the inward part is that Body and Blood of Christ, which by union with His Godhead has been made the principle of spiritual vitality. But though all who receive one receive the other, yet no benefit follows from this reception, except there be living faith in the receiver. For it is one thing to receive Christ's Body and Blood sacramentally, and another that the soul should be brought into relation to Christ. The first depends upon the consecration of the elements: the second requires in addition the spiritual life of the receiver. Our Lord speaks in general terms of the value of the Holy Eucharist, just as in the third chapter of St. John He uses general terms respecting the blessings of Baptism, but without intending that its benefits are gained, unless the ordinance is improved as well as partaken. He speaks of the importance of the gift,

without entering upon the further consideration how it is employed.

So much is meant by the assertion that Our Lord is *sacramentally* present : the idea depends upon the prominence given to that act of consecration on which the validity of the sacrament is dependent. If it be believed that a real Presence of Christ takes effect by virtue of that mystical blessing which it pleases Him to pronounce through the ministration of His servants, then we have an explanation of His words, which renders it unnecessary either to lower down the reality of the Eucharistic gift with Zuinglius, or to limit its efficacy with Calvin. So that we may accept the statements of the sixth chapter of St. John in their simple force, and yet not believe that every one will be saved to whom the Holy Eucharist is administered. What Our Lord declares is, that the *res sacramenti*, or thing imparted in that sacrament, is the principle of life, inasmuch as it is *His* Presence in whom life has entered into the world. The whole context of Scripture implies, that in speaking thus Our Lord was addressing responsible beings, whose state depends upon the use of their advantages. But the importance which He attaches to the rite is explained by the effect which attaches to its consecration. By virtue of that act the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti* go together ; every one who receives one receives the other ; the true principle of life is received

sacramentally; but no benefit ensues unless the soul of the receiver is brought into relation with Christ, and He improves the blessing which has been communicated. Christ bestows Himself upon man *sacramentally*, by virtue of the efficacy of consecration: but it is only by faith and love that man can be spiritually united to Christ.

It is the reality of consecration, then, which gives meaning to the term *sacramental* Presence, as well as efficacy to the ordinance in which it is dispensed. And this circumstance enables us to discriminate between the teaching of St. Augustin and that of Calvin. St. Augustin certainly uses expressions on which it is possible to put a Calvinistic meaning. He does not distinguish between the *res sacramenti* and the *virtus sacramenti*; whereas it would be more consistent to identify the first with the inward part or thing signified, the second with its effect on the devout soul. In one or two places he might be imagined to intend that the inward gift in the Holy Eucharist was never bestowed except upon those who had the gift of final perseverance.⁴⁵ But these equivocal expressions are neutralized by the fact, which entirely separates him from Calvin, that he admitted the validity of the Holy Eucharist to depend

⁴⁵ "Signum quia manducavit et bibit, hoc est, si manet, et manetur, si habitat et inhabitatur, si hæret *ut non deseratur*."—*In Johann. Trac. 27*, i. p. 502. On account of such expressions, Calvin claims St. Augustin as his supporter.—*Adv. Hæshus. Works*, viii. 738. But the words would admit of being translated, "if he cleaves, *in order that* he may not be deserted."

upon its consecration, and that he supposed the Body of Christ to be received by all, whenever the outward and inward parts had been joined together by the mystical benediction. He speaks, therefore, even of the wicked, as receiving the Body⁴⁶ of Christ, though they receive it without benefit. He declares the validity of the sacrament to depend on the combination of the elements, which Our Lord has enjoined, and of His own mystical benediction. “*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.*” So that in conformity with the perpetual belief of the Church, he admitted the necessity of consecration and the authority of orders; and he joined in those Liturgic services, in which the testimony of the original truth was transmitted to succeeding generations.

⁴⁶ “*Adducti sunt ad mensam Christi, et accipiunt de corpore et sanguine ejus, sed adorant tantum, non etiam saturantur, quia non imitantur.*”—*Epist.* exl. sec. 66. Vide also *In Johan.* xxvii. 11. *De Baptismo contra Don.* v. 9. *Sermo* lxxi. 17; and cclxvi. 7.

CHAPTER VIII.

TESTIMONY OF ANTIQUITY, THAT OUR LORD'S PRESENCE
IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST IS NOT MERELY SYMBOLI-
CAL OR VIRTUAL.

THE Scriptural grounds for maintaining Our Lord's Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist have been stated in the last chapter. There are three main portions of Holy Scripture—namely, Our Lord's prediction in the sixth chapter of St. John—the words of Institution as recorded by the other three Evangelists—and St. Paul's exhortations to the Corinthians—from all of which it may be gathered that Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist is *real, sacramental, and supernatural*. Yet the argument turns so completely upon the meaning of expressions which in themselves are familiar to all, that it is of moment to find some authoritative comment, by which we may ascertain the intention of the sacred writers. I go on, then, to inquire how this doctrine was understood in those earlier ages while the heritage of doctrine was fresh, and before divisions could be supposed to have im-

paired the Church's authority. In the present chapter it will be shown that the early Church did not suppose Our Lord's Presence to be *merely Symbolical* or *Virtual*; in the next, that the notion which it accepted was that of a *Real* Presence.

Here, however, we are met by one difficulty, to which the very richness of the field gives occasion. The Holy Eucharist was so constantly present to the thoughts of the early Christians, that the references to it in their writings are almost innumerable. In an abundance of cases their notices respecting it are so detailed and distinct, as to supply a competent basis for doctrinal arguments. But there occur also many general and passing allusions, from which no certain conclusion can be deduced. This could hardly fail to be the case, considering that the subject was continually referred to, while those disputes respecting its nature, by which the Church has since been agitated, were as yet unknown. But it has led to many misrepresentations; since vague and general statements may readily be bent according to the caprice of the interpreter.

It will be useless, therefore, to refer to the language of the Fathers, unless we first fix upon some tests, by which the various theories which have been adduced may be discriminated. Let us take the systems, then, between which the dispute really lies, and see what are those charac-

teristic features in each, respecting which we can appeal to the judgment of antiquity.

I. Now, when Our Lord is said to be present *symbolically* only, or *figuratively*, in the Holy Eucharist, it is meant that He is present merely as an object to the minds of men, just as Abraham is present to our thoughts when we hear of the father of the faithful, or Adam, when we hear of the father of mankind. And therefore His presence would not depend upon Himself, and His own acts, but upon the conceptions of men. So that according to this system, Our Lord is *absent*, rather than *present*; His Flesh and Blood may be thought of, but they are thought of as present in heaven, and not upon earth—not as being really present in the elements, but really absent from them. The only difference between the Holy Eucharist and any other circumstance which puts us in mind of Christ, is that Almighty God has authorized its employment as a memorial; so that we have a divine sanction for considering the bread to represent the Body, and the wine the Blood of Christ.

Such are the characteristic circumstances, which grow out of that which was observed to be the fundamental principle of Zuinglius, namely, that the benefit conveyed in the Holy Eucharist does not depend upon the efficacy of consecration, or upon any gift bestowed by Almighty God through the consecrated elements, but solely upon the

disposition of the receiver. If we would determine, therefore, whether the ancient writers agreed with him, we must see whether they believed in a *real presence*, or a *real absence*. Did they believe that Christ's presence depended upon Himself, and His own acts, or upon the imagination of the receiver? And this will be found to be so clear a point as scarcely to require a protracted inquiry. For the question is settled at once, by those passages in which the Fathers not only assert Our Lord's presence to be real, but answer the objections which are made against such a presence on the ground of its impossibility. Their statements show that they did not suppose Our Lord's Body to be merely present to men's imagination, or that His words were designed to have only a figurative and parabolical meaning. For what difficulty or mystery would there have been in supposing that Our Lord was an object to the thoughts of men; or how could the employment of any particular sign or emblem, as a representation of His Body and Blood, be alleged to be impossible? Nothing is more usual than the employment of emblems, and why should not an emblem be employed in a case in which Almighty God has expressly sanctioned its use? Nothing would have been easier, therefore, for the Fathers, than to have met all objections against the possibility of the Holy Eucharist, by observing that Our Lord's Body was not really present, but really

absent; and that the presence spoken of was only that presence in figure and to the thoughts, which was equally possible in all other cases. But how wholly different is the language used by St. Cyril of Jerusalem! "Contemplate, therefore, the bread and wine, not as bare elements, for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the Body and Blood of Christ; for though sense suggests the former to thee" (*i. e.*, that they are bare elements), "let faith stablish thee. Judge not the matter from taste, but from faith be fully assured without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed the Body and Blood of Christ."¹ Now it is plain from this passage, that St. Cyril supposed the thing contemplated to be mysterious and difficult; so that his words are incompatible with the idea that the Holy Eucharist is merely a figure of that which is really absent, for this would neither be difficult nor mysterious.

The same may be said respecting the following passage of St. Ambrose.

"Perhaps you may tell me, that which I see is something different: how can you assert to me that I receive the Body of Christ? This is the point which it remains for me to prove. What examples therefore do I use. Let me prove that this is not that which nature has formed, but that which the blessing has consecrated: and that the force of the blessing is greater than that of nature, because nature herself is changed by the blessing." Then after quoting instances of the exercise of miraculous power, from the histories of Moses and Elisha, he concludes: "but if human blessing was of such avail as to change nature, what are

¹ Myst. Cat. iv. 6. p. 321.

we to say of the Divine consecration itself, where the very words of Our Lord and Saviour are operative? For that sacrament which you receive is produced by the word of Christ. But if the word of Elias was of such avail as to bring down fire from heaven, shall not Christ's word avail to change the form of the elements? For 'He spake and they were made, He commanded and they were created.' Therefore, if the word of Christ could bring out of nothing things which did not exist, cannot He change things which exist into that which they were not before? For it is not a less achievement to give a new nature to things than to change their nature."²

Here, again, is a passage which plainly affirms Our Lord's Presence to be a mystery and a wonder; and which is incompatible with the Zuinglian notion of His real absence, because this would be no mystery and no wonder. The same remark would apply in innumerable instances.

"In every thing believe God," says St. Chrysostom, and "gain-say Him in nothing, though what is said seem to be contrary to our thoughts and senses, but let His Word be of higher authority than both reasonings and sight. Thus let us do in the mysteries also, not looking at the things set before us, but keeping in mind His sayings. For His Word cannot deceive, but our senses are easily beguiled. That hath never failed, but this in most things goeth wrong. Since, then, the Word saith, *This is My Body*, let us both be persuaded and believe, and look at it with the eyes of the mind."³

Great part of one of the Homilies attributed to Eusebius Emisenus is taken up in the application of this principle to the Holy Eucharist. "Let the uncertainty, therefore, of Infidelity give way, since He who is the author of the gift is the witness to its truth."⁴ All these passages show that the

² S. Ambrose de Mysteriis. ix. 50, 52.

³ S. Chrys. Hom. 82. 4, on S. Matt. cap. xxvi. 34. Vide also S. Chrys. in I. Cor. Hom. 24. 4. vol. x. p. 216.

⁴ Homilia v. de Pascha. Bib. Pat. Max. vi. 636.

ancient writers did not suppose Our Lord's Body to be really absent, or that bread and wine were mere figures or emblems of His Presence.

And yet it cannot be expected that in a series of writers, so voluminous as the ancient Fathers, there should not occur expressions which either imply, or may be construed to imply, a different result. Those on which the greatest stress has been laid by the advocates of a mere symbolical presence, are several passages in which the bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist are described as *antitypes* of the Body and Blood of Christ. Such expressions occur in the Liturgy of St. Basil, in St. Gregory Nazianzen's Orations,⁵ in the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril⁶ of Jerusalem, and in the Apostolical Constitutions.⁷ "We draw near to Thy sacred altar, and having placed upon it the antitypes of the sacred Body and Blood of Thy Christ, we make our petitions."⁸ From these, and a few similar passages, it is inferred that Our Lord is not *really* present in the Holy Eucharist, but that His Body and Blood are merely represented by these visible symbols.

It must be remembered, however, that the Holy Eucharist has been shown to consist of two parts, an outward sign and an inward reality—the first alone accessible to the senses, the second an object only to faith and to the mind. Now, since these two parts, the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*, are

⁵ Oratio xi. p. 187.

⁷ Apost. Constit. v. 14.

⁶ Mystag. Cat. v. 20.

⁸ Liturgy of St. Basil, Goar's Euchol. p. 169.

present together, and since the first is the sign or token, which announces to us the presence of the other, what can be more natural than that it should sometimes be spoken of as the *counterpart* of that by which it is accompanied? And this is the meaning which the expressions before us are intended to bear. The word *antitype*, considered etymologically,⁹ means a reality, of which something has been appointed to be the type. But when bread and wine are spoken of as antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ, this original meaning is not preserved. Nothing is meant, but that the one set of terms answers to or corresponds with the other. So that the word *antitype* proves nothing in behalf of the doctrine of a Symbolical Presence, unless it can be shown that it is applied to the ordinance *as a whole*, and that it excludes the presence of the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. We must refer, therefore, to other passages, and see whether the writers who have used this expression, mean that the Holy Eucharist, regarded *as a whole*, is a figure, or whether they mean merely that the bread and wine are a figure-of an inward reality.

Now it would seem from the strong censure of Magnes, that there must have existed persons who applied such expressions to the Holy Eucharist

⁹ The word is used in this correct sense by St. Cyril of Alexandria, as expressing the inward reality of which the outward part was typical. St. Paul, he says, uses the words, "as often as ye shall eat this bread." He says not as often as ye shall eat this Deity, but as often as ye shall eat this bread. Observe that it is about the Body of Our Lord that his statement is. As often as ye shall eat this bread, of which His Body is the antitype. —*Advers. Nest.* iv. 5 and 6, vol. vi. p. 114 and 115.

with a heretical intention; "for it is not," he says, "a type of the Body, or a type of the Blood, as some hardened persons have fabled, but in truth the Body and Blood of Christ."¹⁰ But the persons referred to were probably Gnostic heretics, since no trace is found of them among the Church's members. For there is not one of the ancient writers, by whom bread and wine are spoken of as antitypes, who has not expressed himself with the utmost distinctness respecting the reality of that inward gift, of which these form the external counterpart. The passage referred to in St. Basil's Liturgy is immediately followed by a prayer that God would "make this bread the precious Body of Our Saviour Christ."¹¹ In the Apostolical Constitutions, where the word *antitype* also occurs, we find a similar prayer; and the delivery of the elements is accompanied with the statement that the thing given is the "Body of Christ."¹² If St. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of those things which could be taken in the hands and consumed, as antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet he elsewhere exhorts men to "eat the Body and drink the Blood, if they desire life:"¹³ and he describes it as the privilege of the priesthood "to handle the mighty Body of Christ," and "to approach to the approaching God."¹⁴ Finally, St. Cyril's¹⁵ statements as to the awe with which men should approach and handle that sacred

¹⁰ Gallandi, vol. iii. p. 541.

¹² Lib. viii. 12, 13.

¹⁴ Oratio xxi. p. 376.

¹¹ Goar's Eucholog. p. 169.

¹³ Oratio, xlii. p. 690.

¹⁵ Mystag. Cat. iv. 6, 9, v. 21.

food; and his caution not to consider it to be merely that which it appears to be, and to trust to faith rather than to sense, show that he could not possibly have imagined the Holy Eucharist to be a *mere* sign, but must have imagined the outward part to be an antitype or symbol of an inward reality.

Again, no one speaks of the Holy Eucharist as an *antitype* of Christ's Body and Blood, in terms more likely to raise a doubt whether he did not conceive it to be merely a figure, than Germanus, who was Patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the eighth century. But then he clears up his meaning by stating that the priest is to entreat God "that He would accomplish the mystery of His Son, and that the bread itself, and the wine, may be made or transmuted into the Body and Blood of Christ;" and again, that "Christ has given us His divine Flesh, and His sacred Blood to eat and to drink for the remission of sins."¹⁶ There is no occasion, therefore, for the erroneous explanation of Damascene,¹⁷ that the elements are only spoken of as *antitypes* before their consecration; for the use of such a term is rendered singularly appropriate by the relation between the outward and inward parts in this sacrament. So the thing is applied by St. Macarius; "in the Church there is offered bread and wine, the antitype of His Flesh and Blood; and those who partake of the apparent bread, spiritually eat the Flesh of the Lord."¹⁸

¹⁶ Rerum Eccles. Contemplatio. Gallandi, vol. xiii. p. 224, 218, 223.

¹⁷ De Fide Orthod. iv. 13, p. 273.

¹⁸ Homilia xxvii. 17. Gallandi, vol. vii. p. 108.

This twofold character of the Holy Eucharist accounts for the occurrence of several other passages in the ancient writers, which have been alleged to imply it to be merely symbolical. Such are some expressions in Tertullian's treatise against Marcion,¹⁹ which speak of bread as a figure of Our Lord's Body. Tertullian did not imagine the Holy Eucharist to be a figure only, as we know from his own statements in other places. "Our flesh," he says, "is fed by the Body and Blood of Christ, that our souls may be satisfied by God."²⁰ And again, of the returning Prodigal; "he is fed with the richness of Our Lord's Body, that is, with the Eucharist."²¹ These passages show that Tertullian believed there was a reality, as well as a figure, in the Holy Eucharist. But it was natural, that when writing against Marcion, he should not only refer to the outward sign, but should dwell upon that side of the ordinance almost exclusively. For Marcion's special heresy was that he denied the reality of Our Lord's Body. This was the natural result of his Gnostic notion—that *matter* was produced by an evil principle. It would

¹⁹ *Tert. adv. Marcion.* iii. 19, iv. 40. The same explanation might be given of the phrase, "panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat."—*Id.* i. 14; did not that passage mean rather, "the bread by which He makes His own Body present." For the words *representare* and *representatio* in Tertullian, are used for the *making present* in general, whether the thing spoken of is to be made present to the spectator's body or mind—objectively, or subjectively. The context, that is, decides whether the thing is to be *presented* or *represented*. And in this case Tertullian's other statements show that he considered Our Lord's Body to be *presented* under the form of bread.

²⁰ *De Resurrect.* 8.

²¹ *Opinitate Dominici corporis vescitur, eucharistia scilicet.—De Pudicitia*, 9.

have been idle therefore to refer to the Church's belief that Our Lord was really present in the Holy Eucharist, when Marcion rejected its assertion that His Body had been truly present even in the garden, or on the cross. The only use therefore which Tertullian could make of the Holy Eucharist against such an opponent, was to refer to its outward part, and to ask, first, whether this did not imply a corresponding inward reality; and secondly, whether it did not disprove the assertion, that all material things were necessarily unholy. And such is his mode of arguing in this treatise; he appeals to the notorious fact, that earthly elements had been selected as the emblems of Our Lord's presence—first as a proof that matter is not necessarily impure,—and secondly, as implying that the hidden reality, which it has been chosen to represent, is likely to have an actual existence.

The same consideration of the double nature of the Holy Eucharist, supplies the explanation of a passage which has often been quoted from a Father of the sixth century, St. Facundus.²² It was the object of St. Facundus to excuse some questionable statements of earlier writers—among others, that Our Lord might be said to have been adopted. He considers the assertion to have arisen out of Our Lord's Baptism; because “the sacrament of adoption may be called adoption.” For this he accounts, by saying that so intimate a relation takes place in a

²² Pro defensione Trium Cap. ix. 5, Bib. Pat. Max. x. 79.

sacrament between the outward sign and the inward reality, that the one may borrow the title and description of the other. And he illustrates his meaning (in a somewhat vague manner) by reference to the Holy Eucharist, in which he says, "we call the sacrament of His Body and Blood, which is in bread and a consecrated cup, His Body and Blood, not because bread is properly His Body, and a cup His Blood, but because they contain within themselves the mystery of His Body and Blood. Hence also Our Lord Himself called the bread and cup which He had blessed, and which He gave to the disciples, His Body and Blood." Now this is perfectly consistent with a belief that though the elements, or *sacramentum*, regarded as objects of sense, retain their relation to the external world, yet that they contain within them that hidden *reality*, which at times may borrow their names, but is different from themselves in nature. St. Facundus, however, was not explaining the nature of the Holy Eucharist, but only referring to it by way of illustration. So that his object was attained, provided his illustration held good; and it holds good, whether Our Lord's Presence is believed to be real, or to be merely symbolical. For it only implies that two things, so intimately related as a *sign*, and a *thing signified*, may borrow one another's names without being in all respects identical.

This illustration, then, regarded in itself, might leave it doubtful whether St. Facundus believed the

Holy Eucharist to be merely a sign, or whether he believed it to consist both of a sign and of a Reality. Yet his statement that the bread and wine "*contain* the mystery of Our Lord's Body and Blood," leads to the latter conclusion. For it shows that he recognized the existence, not of a *sacramentum* only, but of a *res sacramenti* also. And it is obvious from history that such was his belief. For there is no trace that he rejected the general creed of his contemporaries. So that he must have agreed with St. Cæsarius of Arles, who held that "the Invisible High Priest changes visible creatures into the substance of His Body and Blood, by the secret power of His word:"²³ and with Cassiodorus, who says that the sacrifice of Melchisedek had its consummation when Our Lord "consecrated His own Body and Blood in the distribution of bread and wine as the means of salvation:"²⁴ and with Leontius, who argues against the Nestorians for the unity of Our Lord's Person, by asking them, "whose Body and Blood they received in the Holy Eucharist:"²⁵ and with Anastatius Sinaita, who accepts the statement; "God forbid that we should say that the sacred communion is only a figure of the Body of Christ, or mere bread; but we admit it to be the very Body and Blood of Christ, the Incarnate Son of God."²⁶ There is no evidence that St. Facundus disagreed with these contemporary

²³ Hom. vii. de Pasc. Bib. Pat. viii. 825.

²⁴ In Psalm 110, vide Albertinus de Euch. p. 892.

²⁵ Bib. Pat. ix. 704.

²⁶ Viræ Dux, cap. xxiii. Bib. Pat. ix. 855.

writers, and there is direct evidence that he agreed with St. Cyril of Alexandria, whose assertions of Our Lord's Real Presence have been shown to be numerous and distinct. For he purposely takes all the exceptions which he can against St. Cyril,²⁷ with a view of showing that Father not to have been more infallible than other writers; but against St. Cyril's statements of the Real Presence he takes no exception.

It is clear, then, that St. Facundus did not suppose the Holy Eucharist to consist merely of an outward sign, but that he supposed it to consist both of a sign, and also of a reality. His language is only like that of St. Augustin, who accounts for the fact that the names given to the outward and inward parts in a sacrament are interchangeable, by saying that it is because the two are in some sense identical. (We have already seen that they are not physically, but only sacramentally identical.) This is St. Augustin's statement, then, in his celebrated letter to Boniface: "as the sacrament of the Body of Christ is in a certain sense Christ's Body, and the sacrament of the Blood of Christ, is Christ's Blood; so the sacrament of faith is faith."²⁸ And hence he accounts for the fact that children are said by their sponsors to believe. For faith, he says, is a condition in the perfect idea of Baptism, and since the outward part of a sacrament carries the inward part along with it, the pre-

²⁷ Pro defens. Trium Capit. xi. 7. Bib. Pat. x. 96.

²⁸ Epist. xcvi. 9.

sence of this inward part may be assumed, unless something interferes with the completeness of the action. And in proof of the justness of his inference, he appeals to the fact that children are called "*fideles*."

Now this argument may be thought to be defective; for the inward part in Baptism is not *faith*, but *grace*, as St. Augustin²⁹ himself observes in various other places; and he may be alleged to employ a forced analogy when he says of faith, as is commonly and truly said of grace, that it is sufficient that children "can oppose no bar to it." But at all events there is nothing in his words which tells against the doctrine of the Real Presence; on the contrary, he implies that both an outward and an inward part are to be found in the Holy Eucharist. And when he affirms that "sacraments would not be sacraments if they had not some likeness to the things of which they were sacraments"—this is merely an assertion that Almighty God would not have selected the outward signs which He has been pleased to associate with inward gifts, unless there had been a congruity between the sign, and the thing signified. So that these statements imply nothing at variance with his usual sentiments: the outward and inward parts are respectively, as he elsewhere explains, the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*; both are necessary to the completeness of this sacrament; since it is

²⁹ Epist. clxxxvii. 26. xeviii. 2. De Pecc. Mer. i, 10.

through the combination of both that "we receive," as he tells us, "with faithful heart and mouth, the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus; who gives us His Flesh to eat, and His Blood to drink—though to eat human flesh seems more horrible than to kill, to drink human blood than to shed it."³⁰ And the presence of this gift depends, according to his teaching, on that peculiar act of consecration, whereby the outward and inward parts of this sacrament are mystically associated; so that the dedicated bread which was given to the Catechumens, though "it be sacred—more sacred than our other food;" yet "it is not," he says, "the Body of Christ."³¹

The passages, then, which have been alleged, are insufficient to prove that Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist was considered by any of the Fathers to be merely symbolical. If any perplexity exists, it arises mainly from the fact that the ancient writers have been dealt with as though they were explaining the nature of the Holy Eucharist, when they were merely citing it in illustration of things, to which it had only a partial resemblance. Such passages, however, will seldom present much difficulty, if we bear in mind the twofold character of this sacrament—its *visible sign*, and its *inward reality*. So that it may be

³⁰ S. Augus. contra Adversarium Legis et Proph. ii. 33.

³¹ *De Peccat. Meritis*. II. 42. Beveridge on 2nd Canon of Council of Antioch says, that St. Augustin refers to a custom like the ἀντίδοπον, or gift of bread which had been blessed, in the Greek Church.

described either by its outward or its inward portion, as St. Paul speaks sometimes of bread and wine, and sometimes of the Body and Blood of Christ; and the one part may borrow the attributes of the other, as the Fathers speak of *touching* or *breaking* the Body of Christ, though it is the *sacramentum*, or sensible part only, which can be touched or broken. Such a distinction is observable when St. Chrysostom, in his private letter to Pope Innocent, respecting the violence perpetrated in the Church at Constantinople, says that "the sacred Blood of Christ was spilt:"³² while Palladius, in the life of St. Chrysostom which he intended for the public, speaks of the intruders as having "spilt the symbols."³³ The assertion, therefore, that in this sacrament there is a sign or anti-type of Christ's Body and Blood, is so far from opposing, that it is a necessary part of the doctrine of the Real Presence. For to assert the Real Presence is to say that in the Holy Eucharist there is a sign, together with the thing signified. So that what objectors ought to show is, not only that the Holy Eucharist is a *sign*, but that it is a *sign only*. Unless this can be made good, there is nothing to bear out the theory of Zuinglius, that Our Lord's Body is not really present, but really absent. For there is nothing to set against the distinct assertions which abound in all the Fathers, that this sacrament is a reality. Their usual, or

³² S. Chrys. Opera, vol. iii, p. 519.

³³ Id. vol. xiii. p. 34.

rather their nearly invariable, custom of speaking of the thing bestowed as Christ's Body and Blood, shows that this was the portion of it which occupied their thoughts, and touched their affections. So that there is no pretence for alleging that they supposed it to be merely the sign or symbol of an *absent* object, since their direct assertions, as well as their expressions of awe and love, show that they believed themselves to be communing with a *present* reality.

II. It was the impossibility, apparently, of making head against this feeling, which led Calvin to substitute the theory of a Virtual for that of a Symbolical Presence. He found that it was in vain to oppose the doctrine of the Real Presence, unless he could represent the Holy Eucharist as something more mysterious than a mere sign. With this purpose did he introduce the theory of a Virtual Presence; which he represents to be something entirely distinct³⁴ from a mere Symbolical Presence, and to be calculated to engender not less awe and wonder than the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Since it was the first principle, then, of a Symbolical Presence that it depends upon the thoughts of men, not the action of Christ, so the converse ought to be the first principle of a Virtual Presence.

³⁴ Calvin says, "quum . . . legerem apud Lutherum nihil in sacramentis ab Œcolampadio et Zuinglio reliquum fieri præter nudas et inanes figuras; ita me ab ipsorum libris alienatum fuisse fateor, ut diu a lectione abstinuerim."—*Secunda Defensio adv. Westphal.*, Works, viii. 661. And when charged by Heshus with holding only a symbolical presence, he says, "quod de symbolico corpore garrit, impuri scurræ maledictum est."—*Works*, viii. 732. And he states it to be an "improbum convicium," to say that his notion of "eating Christ's Flesh" is only the same thing as "fide amplexi ejus beneficia."—*Works*, viii. 738.

But if the connexion which takes place in this sacrament depends not upon the receiver, but upon Christ, the question arises, on which of Our Lord's natures is it dependent? Does His Presence mean merely the Presence of that *Godhead* which is everywhere, or the presence of the *Man* Christ Jesus?

The mention of Our Lord's *Body* leads of necessity to the latter supposition. And it may be argued, that since we know nothing of the hidden nature of substances, the presence of a body by *virtue* is in truth identical with the presence of its *essence*. So that it has been maintained, as was stated above (p. 35), that Calvin's theory was that Our Lord's Body is *really* present, though not in a carnal and sensible manner. No doubt this is one sense in which the notion of a Virtual Presence might be taken. But such an idea as this is wholly alien from Calvin's principles. For if it comes to the same thing with the Real Presence, why should that term itself be rejected? If the meaning of a Virtual Presence were that the *virtue* which proceeds from Our Lord's Body is identical with its *essence*, then would this theory be identical with the doctrine that besides that natural Presence which He has in heaven, Our Lord has likewise a supernatural Presence, which is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist. That a *virtue* should issue from the Body of Our Lord, by which the souls of men are influenced, is plainly a supernatural process. Those who admit it, have no right to complain that the doctrine of the Real Presence

passes belief, for the diffusion of such a virtue from Our Lord's Flesh is as little consonant³⁵ to the ordinary laws of material existence, as that the capacity to be present supernaturally should have been bestowed upon that manhood which has been taken into God. And to suppose that this virtue is bestowed through hallowed elements, would lead as directly as the doctrine of the Real Presence, to a belief in consecration, and to the validity of Orders.

Now, since these were the very conclusions which Calvin was desirous to avoid, he could not admit principles, from which they inevitably followed. Hence it was his main position that Our Lord's human Body³⁶ had no other mode of presence except that which was natural. This position would have been abandoned, if he had allowed that Our Lord's Humanity had acquired any qualities, by which it could exercise influence beyond that place which it occupies in heaven. The influence, therefore, which is exercised in the Holy Eucharist, must depend, not upon Our Lord's Humanity, but upon that Divine Nature with which it is conjoined. Not only can Our Lord's Body exert no peculiar efficacy, as all admit, through its *natural* powers: it can exercise none through any *supernatural* powers with which it is invested. So that the connexion which is brought about between God and man in this sacrament is owing, not to the presence of Our Lord's Humanity,

³⁵ Calvin himself asserts this in his answer to Heshus.—*Works*, viii. 728.

³⁶ "Christus, quatenus homo est, non alibi quam in celo."—*Consens. Tigur.* xxi. Niemeyer, p. 196.

but to that Presence which He possesses as God, and to the Holy Ghost, who is pleased to co-operate in this service. By the influence which they exercise upon the receiver's mind they raise it to heaven, and thus put it into relation with Christ, the common Head of the Christian Body.

So far, therefore, there is little which goes beyond the system of Zuinglius. For the receiver's soul,³⁷ actuated by the influence of God's Spirit, is the motive principle on which the connexion between God and man is dependent. So that we do not get rid of that which was characteristic of Zuinglianism, that this sacrament is only an occasion, on which Christ is a more immediate object to the thoughts than at other seasons. For Zuinglius admitted the efficacy of God's grace, which none but Socinians deny. There is no rising higher, without assigning some place in the transaction to Our Lord's Manhood. This was discerned by Calvin,³⁸ who taught³⁹ that since Our Lord's Body is a part of Himself, those persons who are united to *Christ* by the power of His Godhead and the agency of the Holy Ghost, may be *said* to be united to His *Flesh*; and, moreover,

³⁷ "Non aliter Christo conjungimur, quam si mentes nostræ mundum transcendunt."—*Calvin, De Vera Participatione*. Works, viii. 744.

³⁸ Calvin takes credit to himself for opposing the system of Osiander, which attributed the whole efficacy exerted in the Holy Eucharist to Our Lord's Godhead, whereas he himself says it arises from Our Lord's flesh.—*Works*, viii. 738, 722.

³⁹ Calvin gives a formal statement of his theory in the "Expositio," which he added to the Consensus Tigurinus. "Hac modo ratione contenti sumus, ultra quam nemo nisi valde litigiosus insurget, vivitiam nobis esse Christi carnem, quia ex ea spirituales in animas nostras vitam Christus instillat; eam quoque a nobis manducari, dum in corpus unum fide cum Christo coalascimus, ut *noster factus, nobiscum sua omnia communicet*."—*Niemeyer*, p. 215.

that a virtue issues from Our Lord's Flesh which influences the souls of those who are united to Him. Thus did he account for the frequent and emphatic mention of Our Lord's Flesh and Blood in Scripture, and by the Fathers.

Now, in giving this explanation of the doctrine of a Virtual Presence, Calvin was availing himself of the double sense in which the words *virtue*, and *virtual*, may be employed (*vide* Cap. v. p. 140). Those things which act by an inherent power, are said to produce an effect by *their own virtue*: while other agents depend upon extraneous support. Thus the sun shines by its own virtue—a mirror by reflected light. In this sense *virtual*, is opposed to *borrowed* power. But in another sense, *virtual* is opposed to *actual*; as when it is said that a man has *virtually* asserted something, which he has not *actually* affirmed. Each of these significations has its place in Calvin's system. When it is said that a virtue proceeds from Our Lord's *Flesh*, the former sense is implied; the Virtual Presence of Our Lord is meant to depend upon some power which is inherent in His Flesh. On the other hand, when it is stated that men may be *said* to be united to Our Lord's *Flesh*, because they are united to *Him*, there is a reference to the latter sense. For it could not have been Calvin's intention to affirm, as Luther did, that there is an *actual* Presence of Our Lord's *Body* in all places in which He *Himself* is present by spiri-

tual power. So that His *Flesh* is present only in a *virtual* manner, or by implication.

These two notions are put together by Calvin, as if they were part of the same idea; when in fact they are not only unconnected, but almost incompatible. For if Our Lord's Flesh were present by *inherent power*, what would be the use of saying that it was also *nominally* present? Either notion indeed is a great addition to the theory of Zuinglius. To say that Our Lord's Flesh is present by inherent power, has been shown to be nearly identical with an admission of the Real Presence. Even to say that a peculiar relation is brought about between the receiver and the Humanity of Our Lord, is to assign a specific effect to the Holy Eucharist. It is to make this ordinance the means of union with the Mystical Body of Christ. But if these notions are examined more closely, it becomes obvious, independently of their incoherence with one another, that neither of them has any real place in the system of Calvin.

For first, the virtue which is said to proceed from Our Lord's Flesh, though continually referred to by Calvin as the *cause*, yet according to his system is only the *effect*, of Our Lord's presence. For he states that the union which takes place between Our Lord's Flesh and the souls of men, is brought about by the action of that spiritual power, by which the minds of men are lifted up into heaven. When this power has done away with the interval

which separates men from Christ's Body, they profit, says Calvin, by a virtue which issues from His Flesh. The power, then, which does away with distance, and so produces presence, is merely the general efficacy of spiritual influence upon the minds of men⁴⁰—a thing which is common to his system and to that of Zuinglius. So that it is a mere artifice to refer, as he does, to the virtue of Christ's Flesh, as though it were an account of the *manner*⁴¹ of His presence. That which does away with distance, must be the thing which produces presence. If Calvin, therefore, had really attributed any efficacy in this work to Our Lord's *Flesh*, He must have allowed that the Divine power overcomes the obstacle of distance, by bestowing some supernatural gift of presence upon Our Lord's Body, and not merely by aiding the aspirations of the souls of men. For it is a contradiction to say that Our Lord's *Body* is the motive principle in this action, and yet to deny that it possesses those properties upon which the action is dependent. This is the same incongruity, which has already been noticed in Calvin's system

⁴⁰ "Neque enim aliter Christum in Cœna statuo præsentem, nisi quia fidelium mentes . . . fide super mundum evolvuntur, et Christus Spiritus sui virtute obstaculum, quod offerre poterat loci distantia, tollens, se membris suis conjungit."—*Secunda Duplici, adv. Westphal. Works*, viii. 668.

⁴¹ "Quum dico Christum ad nos sua virtute descendere, nego me substituere aliquid diversum, quod donationem corporis aboleat, quia *modum donationis* simpliciter explico."—*Idem*. And again: "Quia videtur obstare locorum distantia, ne ad nos usque perveniat carnis Christi virtus, nodum hunc ita expedio, Christum licet locum non mutet, sua ad nos virtute descendere."—*Idem*, vide also his answer to Heshus, *Works*, viii. 726. And he resents the charge, that he is merely supposing that men enter into such a relation to Christ, as exists equally between distant objects—as for instance, when a man becomes possessed of a distant field.—*Idem*, p. 728. Whereas he denies that he "nihil relinquere in Cœna præter jus rei absentis."—*Idem*, p. 729.

—a *virtus sacramenti*, without the *res sacramenti*, upon which it must be dependent. (vide *p.* 143.) In that case it was shown that Calvin affirmed a certain effect to follow from the gift of Our Lord's Body, while, in place of that gift itself, he substituted God's decree and intention in favour of His elect. And here in like manner he brings forward the efficacy which he supposes to attend Christ's Body *when it is present*, as though it were an explanation of the *manner* in which His presence is brought about.

Again, when we turn to the second sense of the word *virtual*, and consider the relation which is brought about by spiritual power between the receivers of the Holy Eucharist, and Christ as the Head of the mystical Body, we find that the truth conveyed does not really form part of the system of Calvin. For it is neutralized by other principles which Calvin introduced, and which form in reality the whole belief of his disciples. For since the Creeds and Liturgy of the Church are the dam which keeps up the faith of its members, the popular belief can never rise above the lowest point which is compatible with the authorized formularies. And here lies the peculiar evil of that ambiguity, which Calvin introduced into this part of theology. For his theory has been the means of concealing that insensible deterioration, which it has sanctioned. Now it was universally admitted by Calvin and his followers, first, that "this receiving Christ's Body

is not confined to the Lord's Supper, but takes place whenever faith in Him is exercised : " secondly, that " it was common to believers before and after the coming of the Son of God in the Flesh." ⁴²

These principles, which are recognized in all Calvinistic confessions, make it nugatory to affirm that the Holy Eucharist rises above the level of other means of grace, and therefore that any peculiar relation to Our Lord's Humanity is conferred in this sacrament. It is universally admitted that Almighty God may make up by special favour for the deficiency of means ; and also, that those blessings which He usually gives through appointed channels, may be chosen to be the measure of His extraordinary gifts. The Israelites were not only fed miraculously by manna, but this heavenly food was probably equivalent in quantity to the bread which would have been needed for their ordinary nourishment. But to affirm, not only that " man doth not live by bread only," but that he eats every time he exercises faith ⁴³ in the heavenly Nourisher,

⁴² These points are adduced by Dr. Hodge (in an article on the Mystical Presence, *Princeton Biblical Repertory*, for April, 1848), as proofs that it is inconsistent with the system of Calvin to suppose " that our union with Christ involves a participation of His Human Body, nature or life." Dr. Hodge, though a follower of Calvin, admits that his approximation to the doctrine of the Real Presence was dictated very much by political considerations. It is, he says, " an uncongenial foreign element, derived partly from the influence of previous modes of thought, partly from the dominant influence of the Lutherans, and the desire of getting as near to them as possible, and partly, no doubt, from a too literal interpretation of certain passages of Scripture."—Vide *Doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper*, by Dr. Nevin, p. 20, 24. On this subject vide Dr. Pusey on Baptism.—*Tracts for the Times*, vol. ii. p. 223, notes K and L.

⁴³ Vide Catechismus Genevensis, 5. Niemeyer, p. 165. Consensus Tigurinus. Art. 19. Niemeyer, p. 195. Conf. Helvet. Post. xxi. Niemeyer, p. 521. Confess. Scotica 1st, Niemeyer, p. 353.

would be to deny that God has appointed earthly substances to be the media of His bounty. Again, it is clear that the coming Mediator was an object of hope before His appearance, and that there is no salvation for the children of the fallen Adam, save through union with Him. But this is a different thing from affirming that the gifts which were bestowed by the Sun of Righteousness before His appearing, were the same⁴¹ with those which He has since conferred—that the sunshine of His Presence is not brighter than its twilight anticipation. Such a statement is inconsistent with the assertion that though John Baptist was the greatest of those who have been born of women, yet that “he, which is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.” And it must necessarily involve the depreciation of those peculiar blessings which result from “the taking of the manhood into God.”

Since the Holy Eucharist, then, was not allowed to confer any specific gift, it was impossible that Calvin could suppose it to be really the means of union with Our Lord’s Body. So that he could not suppose that there was even that *Virtual* Presence of Our Lord’s Flesh which results from union with His Person; and much less, that the presence of His *Flesh itself* was bestowed by Power or *Virtue*. What led him, then, to introduce terms, which were incompatible with his system, as

⁴¹ “Paria sunt utriusque populi sacramenta,” &c.—*Confessio Helv. Post.* 19. *Niemeyer*, p. 513.

well as with one another? Waterland attributes it to "an ambiguity which he was not aware of."⁴⁵ But Calvin himself seems to have suggested the principle on which he acted, in the remarks which he appended to the *Consensus Tigurinus*, A. D. 1549. The purpose of that confession was to unite all the old adherents of the Zuinglian party, yet to diminish the hostility with which they were regarded by the Lutherans. In his remarks, Calvin claims it as the merit of his system, that there was "nothing which had been either revealed by God, or taught by the Church about the sacraments, which it did not briefly contain."⁴⁶ This would seem to imply that his design was to construct a system which would be wide enough for those who took the highest view of the Holy Eucharist, while its ambiguity afforded a shelter to those whose view was lowest. He felt that the theory of a mere Symbolical Presence did no justice to the expressions either of Scripture or of the Fathers. Yet he was resolved not to admit the doctrine of the Real Presence, which would involve the validity of consecration and the authority of Orders. The only remaining course was to introduce an equivocal phraseology, which might account for the expressions of antiquity, without rendering it necessary to accept its practice. There was room, therefore, in his system, for those who received the teaching of Our Lord and St.

⁴⁵ *Doctrine of the Eucharist*, cap. vii. p. 183.

⁴⁶ Niemeyer, p. 206.

Paul respecting the efficacy of Christ's Flesh : but there was room also for those who held, like Zuinglius, that Our Lord's Body exercises no more efficacy at present, than that of any other dead man. His object, then, was to bring about a compromise, by which parties which were *really* opposed, might be *apparently* united. The latitude of his system was not calculated to embrace truth, but to disguise error.

Whether or not this was the design, it was certainly the result of his measures. And it harmonized so well with the circumstances of the times, that it gave a direction to the minds of his followers, which tended little either to the attainment of truth, or to the honest expression of opinion. The opponents of the ancient Church were at that time divided into two camps, because the Lutherans sided with the Catholics in admitting the Real Presence. Now the acceptance of Calvin's theory of a Virtual Presence was the grand means, by which the politicians on either side attempted to heal this dissension. And his system is found to have been pliant enough to have adopted a different shape and meaning, according as it was convenient to his followers to express, or to conceal their full opinions. When the French Hugonots were anxious not to give offence to their political governors, and also to conciliate the sympathy of the Germans, they went so far as to affirm that Our Lord " nourishes and quickens us with the

substance of His Body and Blood.”⁴⁷ Yet the residue of their confession shows that they agreed entirely with the Swiss, by whom the “transfusion of Our Lord’s substance”⁴⁸ is expressly denied. The Second Helvetic Confession,⁴⁹ in which the sacramental theory of the Swiss is stated so as to give the least umbrage to the Lutherans, was put into circulation by the Elector Palatine, A. D. 1565, when he was afraid that the hostility, which this subject excited, would lead to his exclusion from the peace of the empire.

Independently of the general dishonesty which must have resulted from this systematic employment of equivocal expressions, it has led to great unfairness in the treatment of ancient writers. Of the three modes of Our Lord’s Presence—*Symbolical* merely, *Virtual*, and *Real*—the first and last are plainly incompatible. The Calvinistic writers, therefore, frequently adduce passages in which the Fathers speak of Our Lord’s Presence as symbolical, as being an argument against the Real Presence. It has been already shown that these passages are wholly irrelevant, because they do not speak of Our Lord’s Presence as *merely* symbolical (*vide* p. 243). But were it otherwise, they could be of no service to the Calvinists; since they would militate against a *Virtual*, not less, or even more, than against a *Real* Presence. Yet this is the

⁴⁷ Confess. Gallica, A. D. 1561, Art. xxxvi. Niemeyer, p. 325.

⁴⁸ Consensus Tigur. Art. xxiii. Niemeyer, p. 196.

⁴⁹ Niemeyer, Prefatio, lxiv.

mode of argument adopted throughout the voluminous work of Albertinus. He is conscious that nothing lower than a Virtual Presence can harmonize with the strong expressions of the Fathers. But he would be unable to make head against the doctrine of the Real Presence, without the aid of passages, which, taken as he employs them, would lead to Zuinglianism. As though a man's own theory was, that a certain document was written in Greek, while his only ground for maintaining that it could not be written in Hebrew was, that its author knew no language but English.

We must disregard such arguments, then, as lead to a mere Symbolical Presence, when we compare the doctrine of a Virtual, with that of a Real Presence. For between these two alone lies the immediate question. But in what sense are we to take the Virtual Presence, which is the object of comparison? Does it mean the diffusion of such a virtue from Our Lord's Body, as would be equivalent to the gift of His *essence* to the receiver upon earth? Is He admitted to be present under the forms of bread and wine; and is the only thing excluded His *natural* presence? Such a supposition would be identical with the doctrine of the *Real* Presence; and there would remain but two modes of Presence—Real and Symbolical. Now, as this extreme must be avoided, so must that which would identify the Virtual Presence with Zuinglianism. For though this may have been the prac-

tical result of Calvin's system, yet it would leave us nothing to compare, since it would merge the Virtual in the Symbolical Presence.

We must take the Virtual Presence therefore in the only shape which will give it a substantive existence; and enable us to contrast it with the other two ideas into which it really resolves itself. We must assume, that is, that Calvin's system is genuine and consistent. The receiver's soul is supposed, then, to be put into relation with Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, through the influence of His Godhead, and the power of the Holy Ghost. And since any one's body is a part of him, and especially since a virtue proceeds from Our Lord's Flesh, which affects the souls of those who have been united to Him, therefore the receiver may be said to be *virtually* united to Our Lord's *Body*, because he is united to Our Lord Himself. The doctrine of the *Real* Presence, on the other hand, assumes Our Lord to employ His *Body* as the medium whereby He bestows Himself in the Holy Eucharist. In Calvin's system, therefore, the relation between Our Lord and the receiver is supposed to depend only upon the spiritual efficacy of a divine power; the opposing doctrine refers it to the supernatural efficacy of Christ's *Flesh*. The Real Presence is that men are united to *Christ*, because they are partakers of His *Flesh*; Calvin holds that they may be *said* to be partakers of Christ's *Body*, because they are united to *Christ*.

There will be found to be three several criteria, by which the adoption of one or the other of these systems may be ascertained. First—Is Our Lord's *Body* spoken of as a medium through which we are put into relation with Himself? Secondly—Are the consecrated elements supposed to be entitled to any peculiar reverence? Thirdly—Are all by whom the elements are received, supposed to receive Christ's Body?

The two last of these questions will be noticed in the next Chapter, where they will be shown to have been answered in the affirmative by the ancient Church, as decidedly as they were negatived by Calvin. Here it will be enough to consider the first question, which will afford a sufficient criterion that a Virtual Presence does not come up to the language of the ancient Fathers. They everywhere affirm that Our Lord's *Body* has been consecrated to be the medium through which a relation is to be brought about between the God-man and His brethren. And they suppose that the supernatural Presence of Christ's Manhood in the Holy Eucharist, is the very thing which is bestowed as the instrument of union by the power of the Divine Word, and by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost. Thus St. Cyril says to Nestorius :

“You seem to me to forget that it is by no means the nature of the Godhead which is set forth on the sacred tables of the Church, but the very Body of the Word, who sprung from God the Father ; the which Word is naturally and truly God. Why therefore do you confuse, and ignorantly mix up everything,

almost ridiculing that bread which cometh down to us from heaven, and giveth life unto the world, because it is not called Deity by the voice of divines, but rather the Body of Him who was incarnate for our sakes.”⁵⁰ This circumstance he adduces as a proof that Our Lord’s Flesh is really united to the Godhead; saying that “otherwise the bloodless sacrifice would be of little benefit; for it cannot be conceivable that the nature of the Godhead should be consumed along with the flesh: seeing that we have not attained to that which is impossible, namely, to feed on that which is simply incorporeal.”⁵¹

St. Cyril repeatedly refers to Our Lord’s Flesh, as an instrument which co-operates with His Spirit in bringing about an union between Himself and mankind. He opposes Our Lord’s Bodily Presence in the Holy Eucharist to the presence and influence of His Spirit, declaring them to be separate, though concurring instruments. Some decisive passages on this subject are elsewhere quoted at length.⁵² St. Cyril declares that Christians are not only spiritually united to Christ by faith, love, and obedience, but likewise “by fleshly⁵³ contact.” Otherwise, he says, “let any one explain to us the cause and teach us the efficacy of the mystical Eucharist. Why do we receive it? Is it not that it may cause Christ to dwell in us even bodily, by the participation and communion of His sacred Flesh?” And then, after citing some passages from St. Paul and St. John, he concludes: “it is especially observable that Christ does not speak of dwelling in us through anything which depends only upon our disposition or our affections, but by

⁵⁰ *Adversus Nestorium*, iv. 6. vol. vi. p. 116.

⁵¹ St. Cyril, *ib.*

⁵² *Supra*, cap. iv. p. 103, 110, and cap. vi. p. 168.

⁵³ “συναφεία κατὰ σάρκα.”—*In Joan.* x. 2. vol. iv. p. 862.

means of a physical participation. If a person mixes one piece of wax with another, and melts them at the fire, he makes one thing of both; and so by the participation of the Body of Christ, and of His precious Blood, He is made one with us, and we again are made one with Him. For there was no other way in which that which is naturally corruptible could be endued with life, save by bodily union with the Body of that which is naturally life, that is, of the Only-begotten One."

Similar statements are to be found in all parts of St. Cyril's writings. In his Dialogue on the Incarnation, he says,

"We may see that He bestowed upon His own Flesh the glory of the Divine energy, and again, that by the union of the Incarnation He appropriated, as it were, to Himself the properties of the Flesh, and arrayed with them His own nature. *B.* What do you mean by this? *A.* Do you not suppose that it belongs especially to the Word, who proceeds by nature from God the Father, to come from above, out of heaven; and to be able to quicken those into whom His will is to infuse life? *B.* I allow it. *A.* And to create, like God, you would not allow to be a human action? *B.* By no means. *A.* Well, then, He quickens us indeed as God, but not only by our partaking the Holy Spirit, but also by giving us to eat of the Flesh, which He has assumed. For His words are, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you.'"⁵⁴

Passages might be adduced from other Fathers, in proof that Our Lord's Human Body is the medium, through which His relation to mankind is brought about. Such is St. Augustin's statement, when he compares Our Lord's gift of His Body in

⁵⁴ "οὐ μόνον τῷ μεταλαχέιν ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐδιδόναι παραθεῖς καὶ τὴν ἀναληψθεῖσαν σάρκα."—*De Incarnatione*, vol. v. part i. p. 707.

the Holy Eucharist to the manner in which the food which an infant is unable to digest is prepared for it, by becoming "incarnate" in its mother's milk (*ipsum panem mater incarnat*⁵⁵). Thus St. Chrysostom says, "I willed to become your brother. For your sakes I shared in Flesh and Blood. Again I give to you the very Flesh and the Blood, through which I became your kinsman."⁵⁶ "In the economy of grace," says St. Gregory Nyssen, "He infuses Himself through His Flesh in all men who believe."⁵⁷ "We drink the immortal Blood of Christ," says Julius Firmicus; "Christ's Blood is joined to our blood. This is the salutary remedy for your offences, which excludes the mortal plague from God's people."⁵⁸ And again; "seek the bread of Christ, the cup of Christ, that the frailness of earth may be despised, and man's substance enriched with immortal food."⁵⁹ And again St. Chrysostom's successor, St. Germanus, A.D. 715. "Our Lord has not only sent the Holy Ghost to remain with us, but He Himself also has promised to remain with us to the end of the world. Yet the Comforter is present invisibly, because He has

⁵⁵ In Psalm xxxiii. Enar. i. 6. Vide also St. Hilary, "Non enim quis in eo erit, nisi in quo ipse fuerit, ejus tantum in se assumptam habens carnem, qui suam suaserit."—*In Trin.* viii. 16, p. 957. And again, "De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus. Nunc enim et ipsius Domini professione, et fide nostra vere caro est, et vere sanguis est. Et hæc accepta atque hausta id efficiunt, ut et nos in Christo, et Christus in nobis sit."—*Id.* 14. Vide also St. John Damascene de Fide Orthod. iv. 13, vol. i. p. 267.

⁵⁶ "πάντων ὑμῶν τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα, δι' ὧν συγγενὴς ἐγενόμην, ἐκδίδωμι."—*In Joan.* Hom. xlv. 3. vol. viii. p. 273. Vide also Hom. xxiv. 4, on I. Cor. vol. x. 216.

⁵⁷ Catechet. Orat. sec. 37. Vide also, In Eccles. Hom. viii. vol. i. p. 457. A.

⁵⁸ De Errore Profan. Relig. xxii. Bib. Pat. iv. 173. ⁵⁹ *Id.* c. xix. p. 171.

not taken our body. But Our Lord is not only an object of sight, but He may be touched through the awful and sacred mysteries, because He has taken our nature, and bears it for ever."⁶⁰ But the most decisive statements are those of St. Cyril, because nothing was more fitted than this truth to counteract the Nestorian heresy. For to show that Our Lord's Manhood possessed a supernatural mode of presence, was a forcible argument for supposing that it was personally united to God. And St. Cyril's judgment is equivalent to that of the whole ancient Church, because on this topic he was its most approved expositor. This is put beyond doubt by the sanction bestowed upon him by the Third General Council. So that if we consider his testimony decisive against that new view of Our Lord's nature which was introduced by Nestorius, we must allow it to be conclusive also against that theory of a mere Virtual Presence in the Holy Eucharist, which it was reserved for Calvin, so many centuries later, to originate.

The preceding passages are sufficient to show that the theory of a Virtual Presence does not come up to the language which the Fathers employ respecting the Holy Eucharist. But one proof further may be adduced—the different language which they use concerning the ordinance of Baptism. Since the gift of union with Christ is on God's part bestowed upon all in Baptism, how-

⁶⁰ Gallandi *Thes.* xiii. p. 222.

ever its actual reception may be obstructed by the wilfulness of man, the operation of this sacrament is wholly at variance with the system of Calvin, which supposes the gifts of God to be limited by His own absolute decree. And yet the doctrine of Baptism presents some features which accord with Calvin's theory of a Virtual Presence. The union with Christ which it bestows is not brought about by the efficacy of His Manhood, but by the power of His Godhead, and the operation of the Holy Ghost. It is not to be attributed, therefore, to any virtue which proceeds from Our Lord's *Flesh*; yet it may be called a *virtual* union with His *Body*, because it is a *real* union with *Himself*. For in Baptism there is a real union with Christ, as the Mystical Head of the Christian Body; and it is this fact, which renders the benefits of Baptism specific and permanent. They are specific, for this ordinance is the act whereby men "are delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son." They are permanent, because the relation which is then commenced, produces effects upon the whole life. Now these circumstances depend upon that union with Christ, which He bestows upon His Mystical Body. But because the gift is bestowed purely by the spiritual operation of Our Lord's Godhead, and not through the intervention of His Flesh, therefore it is bestowed through the ordinance at large; the outward part is not described as a *Sacramentum*, nor the inward part as a *res*

sacramenti, or *thing* signified. And for the same reason, consecration is not essential to its validity.

There is one sense, then, in which Christ's Body is *virtually* present in Baptism; because since men are thereby joined to *Him*, they are virtually or by implication joined to His *Flesh*. And hence it has followed that those graces, which before the Day of Pentecost dwelt in the temple of Our Lord's Body, have since extended themselves to His members also. But His *Body* has no *real* Presence in Baptism: His *Flesh* is not the medium through which His gifts are bestowed, in the same manner as in the Holy Eucharist. Is this diversity, then, manifest in the expressions of the Fathers? Do they speak of Baptism as *connected* with Our Lord's Manhood, as might be expected, considering that it is the means whereby men are engrafted into their Head; and yet abstain from those direct assertions of the *Real* Presence which occur respecting the Holy Eucharist?⁶¹

Now, it is an obvious and Scriptural analogy, to compare that, by which sins are washed away, with the true purification—the Blood of Christ. We find, therefore, the continual use of such expressions as those of St. Cæsarius: “When men's sins expire in the sacred font, they are, as it were, dipped in the red water of Egypt. The waters are red, that is, they are consecrated with the Blood of Christ.”⁶²

⁶¹ This distinction between Baptism and the Holy Eucharist is not considered in the “Doctrine of the Incarnation,” though it is alluded to in Cap. xiii. notes 21 and 24, 4th edition.

⁶² Hom. vi. De Paschat. Bib. Pat. viii. 824.

And so St. Jerome (on Isaiah, i. 16.) represents Our Lord as saying, "Be ye baptized in My Blood, by the laver of regeneration." Men are stated to be "dyed in Baptism with the Blood of Christ;"⁶³ and "Baptism is red with the Blood of Christ."⁶⁴

Such passages, however, which occur in abundance, may be discriminated from the language used respecting the Holy Eucharist by two circumstances. First—The effect spoken of was not consequent upon consecration; so that though consecration, where it was possible, was always employed, it was as a matter of order, and not of necessity. And therefore the thing, of which Our Lord's Blood is said to be the antitype, is not that portion of the element, which is specially employed, but the element at large. Secondly—The employment of such language respecting Baptism, is limited to the use made of the element by the parties: water bears the same relation to the purifying of the body, which the Blood of Christ bears to the soul: there is not a word which implies that water in *itself* may take the name of blood, or that the two are in any sense identical. Yet since the Fathers had the analogy between the two objects in their minds, why did they not speak of the water in Baptism as being *really* blood, as they constantly identified the element in the Holy Eucharist with Our Lord's Body? In reference to Baptism, however, we have nothing like the words of St. Ambrose or

⁶³ Prosper de Promiss. ii. 2. Bib. Pat. viii. 18.

⁶⁴ S. Aug. in Joan. Trac. xi. 4.

St. Cyril. "Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself exclaims, this is My Body. Before the heavenly words of blessing, another species is named; after consecration the Body is implied. He Himself calls it His Blood. Before consecration it is called another thing. After consecration it is called Blood. And you say Amen, that is, it is true."⁶⁵

These are expressions to which there is no kind of parallel in the case of Baptism. And the difference is founded upon the fact, that the expressions of Our Lord and His Apostles respecting the one, are wholly different from those which they employ respecting the other. In the case of Baptism, we have nothing in Scripture which resembles Our Lord's words of Institution, or St. Paul's statement that the thing received is "the Lord's Body." And the words of the Fathers, accordingly, show that there was a belief respecting the Holy Eucharist which did not exist respecting Baptism. "What seems bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the Body of Christ; and that which seems wine is not wine, though the taste will have it so, but the Blood of Christ."⁶⁶

The same distinction is observable in a dispute which arose among the followers of St. Augustin; and which was called forth by the question, whether Our Lord's promises in the sixth chapter of St. John could be applicable to children, till they had received the Holy Eucharist. The point is treated

⁶⁵ De Mysteriis, ix.

⁶⁶ St. Cyril, Myst. Cat. iv. 9.

by St. Fulgentius, who maintains, on the authority of St. Augustin, that the baptized may be said to be partakers of Our Lord's Body and Blood. This he establishes, not by saying that Our Lord is present in Baptism in the same manner as in the Holy Eucharist, nor by asserting that the water in which men are baptized is Christ's Blood, but by reference to the fact that in this ordinance men are joined to the Person of Christ. He asserts a *virtual* presence; in that lower sense of the word, in which Christ's Body may be said to be *virtually*, though it is not *really* present. His argument is, not that Christ's Body is really present in Baptism, but that since His Body is part of Himself, those who are united to His *Person*⁶⁷ may be *said* to be united to His *Flesh*. This distinction between the *real* Presence of Christ, and a mere presence by *implication*, corresponds with the diversity which has been observed to exist between the Holy Eucharist and Baptism. For St. Augustin, whom St. Fulgentius is quoting, asserts Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist to depend, not merely upon union with His Person, but upon the presence of His *Body*.⁶⁸

The relation between these two ordinances is further manifest from St. Cyril's explanation of the

⁶⁷ "Qui ergo membrum corporis Christi fit, quomodo non accipit quod ipse fit, quando utique illius fit verum corporis membrum, cujus corporis est in sacrificio sacramentum."—*De Baptismo Æthiopis*, cap. xi.; *Bib. Pat. Mar.* ix. 177, 178. He refers to S. August. Sermo 272.

⁶⁸ "Corpus Christi . . . illud, quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum, et prece mystica consecratum . . . non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei."—*De Trinitate*, iii. 10.

manner in which the one is a preparation for the other. He refers to the Church's custom of excluding catechumens from the Holy Eucharist, though they had made profession of the Christian faith; and says they are not prepared for such a sacred gift till they have been sanctified by the Holy Ghost, by becoming members of Christ's Mystical Body. To this rule, he says, the Church has been led by Our Lord's words to Mary Magdalen. "He sends away Mary, as not having yet received the Spirit, saying, 'Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father,' that is, I have not yet sent the Spirit unto you. This saying has been a guide to the Church."⁶⁹ Thus does he discriminate between the gifts bestowed in these two ordinances, and affirms that the spiritual relation to Christ which is gained by union with His *Person*, is a preparation for the reception of His *Body*. So that after Baptism "nothing hinders them," as he expresses it, "from *touching* Our Saviour Christ." And elsewhere he sums up the contrast in a few words, observing that in Baptism men are made members of Christ through the gift of His Spirit, but that His Presence in the Holy Eucharist is brought about through the Presence of His *Body*. "Baptism is truly Christ's and from Christ, and the force of the Mystical Eucharist arises to us from His sacred *Flesh*."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ In Joan. Lib. xii. vol. iv. p. 1086. Firmilian, when complaining that persons were admitted to communion, as he imagined, without Baptism, objects that "non ablutis per ecclesiæ lavacrum sordibus . . . contingant corpus et sanguinem Domini."—*S. Cyprian*, Ep. lxxv. 21. p. 149.

⁷⁰ In Joan. xii. vol. iv. p. 1074. So Germanus, "ὅν διὰ τὸν βαπτίσματος δεξιόμενον, τοῦτον λαβεῖν πάντοτε καὶ ἔχειν καὶ ἐσθίειν αἰτούμεθα."—*Gallou*, xiii. p. 226.

The contrast, then, which is afforded by their expressions respecting Baptism, adds force to the assertions of the Fathers respecting the Holy Eucharist. Thus on both sides are we led to the conclusion, that neither the statements of Scripture nor the belief of the Church are satisfied by the theory of a Virtual, any more than by that of a Symbolical Presence.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TESTIMONY OF ANTIQUITY TO THE DOCTRINE OF
THE REAL PRESENCE.

IN the last chapter it was shown that neither a merely Symbolical nor a Virtual Presence was sufficient to satisfy the language of the Fathers : it remains to show that their doctrine was that of the *Real Presence*.

Now, in turning in this manner from a negative to a positive inquiry, from the consideration what they did *not*, to what they *did* hold, it will be well to observe what is that kind of evidence which we have a right to expect, and which alone will satisfy the conditions of the argument. If the Real Presence was truly believed in the Ancient Church, like the fact that Our Lord is an object of worship, or that every Person in the Ever-blessed Trinity is truly God, it will show itself, like each of these truths, in various forms, and under different modifications. A shadow can be cast only on one spot, and in one form, but a substance has several sides, and may be viewed, therefore, under several

aspects. If this doctrine, then, was a constituent part of the belief of the Ancient Church, we may expect that it would come out in various ways, according to the different character and circumstances of those by whom it was expressed. Still this variety must consist with such accordance, as to show that the thing spoken of was a single object—the *diversities* of Antiquity must throw light upon its *consent*.

The best method of discovering how far this was really the case, will be to take a brief survey of the history of the first seven centuries; to consider what were the several systems of thought which prevailed respecting the Holy Eucharist, and what the expressions which they severally suggested. It will be found that there were five different ways in which their positions, or their characters, led as many different parties to speak of this sacrament. Their real accordance amidst such apparent diversity, affords the surest proof that their fundamental idea was the same. And this will be confirmed when we apply the two criteria proposed in the last chapter (*p.* 259) to these several parties. For it will be found that they all agreed, first, that the consecrated elements were entitled to especial reverence, and secondly, that all who received the consecrated elements received the Body and Blood of Christ.

We begin of course with the ante-Nicene period. During the first two centuries, it would seem that

the doctrine of the Real Presence was received with the same unreasoning acquiescence as the cardinal truths respecting Our Lord's nature. The constituent parts of the Holy Eucharist were not as yet explained in a formal manner, nor were speculative conclusions deduced from it in the same degree as in a later age. The notices which occur, are simple statements of a fact, about which it seems to have been supposed that all Christians were agreed. Such is St. Ignatius's observation that the Docetæ "abstain from the Holy Eucharist, because they do not admit it to be the Flesh of Our Saviour Christ, which suffered for our sins."¹ Such is Justin's statement that the Eucharist is "not common bread, or common drink," but that "we have been taught that the food which receives the eucharistic blessing through His words of prayer, which by way of nutriment is changed into our blood and flesh, is the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus."² "Being both flesh and bread," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "He giveth Himself, being both, to us to eat."³ "When the mingled cup, and the bread, which is the produce of growth, receives the Word of God" (*i.e.* the blessing), "and the Eucharist becomes the Body of Christ, and of these the substance of our flesh has its increase and consistency, how can they say that the flesh, which is nourished by the Body and Blood of the Lord, and becomes a

¹ Ad Smyrnæos, sec. 6. ² Apol. i. 66. ³ Fragment. vol. ii. 1018. (Pott.)

member of Him, is not capable of the gift of God, which is eternal life.”⁴ Such is St. Irenæus’s mode of speaking ; for he held that “when the bread which is taken from the earth receives the invocation of God, it is no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly.”⁵

Such was the manner in which the Fathers of the second century understood St. Paul’s assertion : “the bread which we break” is “the communion of the Body of Christ ;” “the cup of blessing, which we bless,” “the communion of the Blood of Christ.” Neither was there any opposition to these statements, although Tertullian uses expressions on this subject, as he does likewise respecting the Persons in the Blessed Trinity, which require explanation. But he agrees with the other writers of his age in calling the Holy Eucharist “the Body of the Lord ;”⁶ it is “His Body,” which those who profane the Holy Eucharist “assail ;”⁷ and he speaks of the Gentile converts as “fed with the richness of the Lord’s Body, that is, with the Eucharist.”⁸ He adds, also, various particulars respecting its daily reception,⁹ and respecting the reverence with which it was partaken. And the same mode of speaking may be found in the next century. Christ “has prepared His table,” says St. Hippolytus ; “that is, the promised knowledge of the

⁴ St. Irenæus, v. 2, 3.

⁵ Ibid. iv. 18, 5.

⁶ De Idololatria, 7.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ De Pudicitia, 9.

⁹ De Oratione, 14.

sacred Trinity, and also His precious and pure Body and Blood, which are daily prepared in His mystical and divine table." "Come, eat My bread, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you. His own divine Flesh, and His precious Blood He hath given us, He says, to eat and drink for the remission of sins."¹⁰

A somewhat different view of things begins to open upon us when we pass the time of the Nicene Council, and when the Church had become in an increasing measure a home to the thought and intellect of the age. We find the Liturgies commented upon, not only, as probably was always the case, in popular addresses, but in a literary work (St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures), which continues to this day to be the standard of instruction in the Eastern Church. And now, then, we meet with something more like an explanation of that which in the preceding age had simply been asserted, namely, that after consecration the thing present upon the altar is truly the Body and Blood of Christ. St. Cyril introduces the further idea, that this is owing to a *change* in the elements, which is brought about by the power of the Holy Ghost. "We call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the bread the Body of Christ, and the wine the Blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is sanctified and changed."¹¹

¹⁰ Gallandi, ii. 488.

¹¹ Fifth Myst. Cat. 7.

The reality of this *change* was no doubt admitted by all Christians during the three first centuries; for they believed that what the priest presented previously to consecration was mere bread and wine, whereas that which he took in his hands after consecration, was the Body and Blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine. But there was an absence of those distinct assertions of a change, which appear after the Liturgies had been commented upon by St. Cyril, and which occur especially in the Eastern Church. And with this is connected the further fact, that this idea of a *change* is put more prominently forward in Eastern than in Western Liturgies. "Make this bread the very precious Body of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, . . . and this cup the very precious Blood of Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, . . . *changing* them by Thine Holy Ghost."¹² Whereas the Liturgy of Gelasius says only; "ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi."¹³ This was not owing to any difference in doctrine: it was shown (cap. iii.) that the reality of the change was asserted by St. Ambrose and St. Gaudentius in Italy, as directly as by St. Cyril and St. Gregory Nyssen in the East; and probably the diversity between the liturgies arose chiefly from the absence of a direct invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Roman Liturgy.

¹² St. Basil's Liturgy. The words of St. Chrysostom are nearly identical. —*Neale*, Introd. p. 579.

¹³ *Muratorî Lit. Vet.* i. 696. Nearly the same expression occurs in the Ambrosian Liturgy, *Ib.* 133, and in the Missale Francorum, *Ib.* ii. 693.

But however the difference arose, it will be found that the terms of the Eastern writers are far more express than those of the Latins, and imply a change in the ingredients, or constituent parts of the consecrated elements. Thus we have such words as that the elements *μεταποιούνται*,¹⁴ *μεταρρυθμίζονται*,¹⁵ *μεταστοιχειούνται*.¹⁶ which (especially the last) are far more emphatic than *transfigurare*¹⁷ or *transformare*,¹⁸ which we find in Latin writers.

The tendency, then, of that which perhaps may not improperly be called the Eastern School, was to dwell simply upon the *change* effected in the elements by means of consecration. The example set by St. Cyril was followed by St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, St. John Damascene, and other Fathers. Now, though their statements do not in reality go beyond that which was received by the whole Church, yet it is obvious that such expressive phrases, if looked at by themselves, might be perverted so as to interfere with the analogy of the faith. For it might be supposed that the change was not only *real*, which it doubtless is, but that it was a *common* change, and accordant with the usual order of things. Now such a mistake would lead to erroneous opinions, both as to the sacred gift, which is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist,

¹⁴ Damascen. de Fid. Orth. iv. 13, p. 269. Theophylact. in Matt. 25.

¹⁵ S. Chrys. de Prod. Judæ. i. 6, vol. ii. p. 384, and Ib. ii. 6. p. 394.

¹⁶ S. Greg. Nyss. Cat. Or. Theophylact. in Marc. 14.

¹⁷ S. Ambros. de Fide, iv. 10. n. 121.

¹⁸ Mone's Messen. p. 24. So "panem mutatum in carne," *i. e.* carnem. --- *Maillon Lit. Gall.* p. 300.

and as to the objects of sense, through which that gift is communicated. In relation to each, there are two errors against which it is necessary to guard.

First—If this change were conformable to the ordinary order of things, as when water is changed into ice by crystallization, it might be supposed that Christ's Body was not *that very Body* which suffered on the cross, but a new or additional one, formed out of bread and wine. So that Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist would not be the carrying out of the purposes of the Incarnation, but the actual repetition of that great event. Such is the notion attributed (though very unjustly) by various German¹⁹ critics to Justin Martyr. When Grabe²⁰ maintains that the school of writers who followed St. Cyril of Jerusalem, supposed that Our Lord's Body was in this way something *superadded* to that in which He suffered, he fails to do justice to the expressions by which these writers guard against such misconstruction. "The bread and the wine, and water," says Damascene, "which by eating and drinking are changed into the body and blood of him who eats and drinks them, do

¹⁹ "Justin" sagt Semisch, "achtet das Abendmahl gleichsam für eine wiederholte Incarnation." "Der göttliche Logos mit Brot und Wein als seinem Leibe und Blute in Verbindung tritt."—*Kahn's*, n. s. p. 181.

²⁰ Grabe describes this school of writers as teaching that the consecrated bread "ipsam ejus substantiam in carnem transformare, quæ Christi caro sit, et cum illâ, quæ ex B. Virginis utero proliit, et cruci suffixa, inque cælum sublata fuit, eadem fiat per ἐνδύξιναι, quodque eundem Spiritum vitæ in se habeat; sicuti panis quem Servator in terris comedit, vi naturalis caloris in carnem ejus vertebatur, &c." He refers to St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. John Damascene.—*Grabe on S. Irenæus*, v. 2.

not become another body besides his former one."²¹ And St. Gregory Nyssen speaks of "that Body which was endowed with immortality by God,"²² as the thing which is present in us by the Holy Eucharist. Yet the language of this school led in some instances to such an error; for the mistake occurs²³ in a work which, though the composition apparently of an imitator of Damascene, has yet sufficient resemblance to his style to have been attributed formerly to himself.

Secondly—If bread and wine were changed in a *common* manner into Our Lord's Body and Blood, these sacred objects must be supposed to be subjected to conditions and circumstances, from which they are plainly exempt. Hence Anastatius Sinaita (*supra*, chap. v. p. 126), in whom the tendency to regard the change as a common one reached its extreme point, speaks of Our Lord's Body, when present in the Holy Eucharist, as though it were *corruptible*; whereas corruption,²⁴ as well as any other polluting circumstance, can extend no further than to the objects of sense, which are the ordained channels for its communication. And the same error appears in the imitator²⁵ of Damascene already quoted, who affirms also that Our Lord's Body may be *broken*

²¹ Damasc. de Fide Orthod. iv. 13. p. 270.

²² Orat. Catech. *vide supra*, p. 102.

²³ « εἰς ἐπαύξεισιν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. »—*Episc. Douar. In Damasc.* vol. i. p. 656.

²⁴ « Caro Salvatoris manducata non corrumpitur, nec sanguis hic potatus consumitur. »—*Magnetis Fragmentum, Gall.* iii. 542. *Vide Summa Theol.* iii. 77. 7.

²⁵ De Corp. et Sang. Christi. In Damasc. vol. i. p. 658.

in this sacrament; whereas that which is broken can be only the object of sense, through which His Presence is conveyed.

These misconceptions respecting the *inward* part in the Holy Eucharist, are connected with the errors respecting the *outward* part, against which it is necessary to guard. For if the change be looked at as if it were a common one, the outward part will be entirely lost sight of, and those offices will be forgotten, which it still performs. This tendency shows itself in two ways in the writers before us. For, first, we find some of them to have denied to the outward part the titles by which it is properly designated; and, secondly, we find a forgetfulness of the functions which it actually discharges.

First—It has been shown how fitly the outward part may be called a *type*, or *anti-type*, of that inward reality with which it is combined. So it is by St. Cyril of Jerusalem himself. (*Sup. cap. viii. p. 232.*) But by other writers of this school the fact is either forgotten or denied. It is forgotten, apparently, by Anastatius Sinaita, who cannot be censured, of course, for saying that the Holy Eucharist is not merely a figure²⁶ of Christ, but who fails to add that it is truly a figure, though not a figure only. But Damascene not only denies the outward part to be a figure²⁷ of the Body and Blood of Christ, but affirms that if any writers “have

²⁶ Bib. Pat. ix. 855.

²⁷ De Fide Orthod. iv. 13, p. 271.

called the bread and wine antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ,"²⁸ they must have referred only to its state previously to consecration. And the same assertion was made at the Second Council of Nice.²⁹ The statement has been observed to be erroneous (*sup. p.* 235); but it shows that a due weight was not assigned to the elements, through a too exclusive attention to the fact of their change. And later Greek writers show the same forgetfulness that a sacrament by its very nature is twofold; and that its outward sign is intended to be emblematic of its inward reality. Thus Nicephorus³⁰ objects to the application of such expressions to the Holy Eucharist, on the ground that the same thing cannot be both an image and a reality; and the same objection was made at the Second Council of Nice.³¹ And on the same principle Theophylact³² appears to object to the use of the word *figure* in relation to this sacrament.

Secondly—These writers fail to do justice to another consideration, which must enter into the idea of the Holy Eucharist, if it be supposed to consist of an outward part, which is an object to the senses, as well as of an inward part, which is an object to faith and to the mind. Since the process of nutrition is open to sensible experiment, the property of nourishing the body of the receiver

²⁸ De Fide Orthod. iv. 13, p. 273.

²⁹ Actio vi. Harduin, iv. 370.

³⁰ "Quod enim est alienius imago, hoc corpus ejus esse non potest: et rursus quod est corpus, non potest esse ejus imago."—*S. Niceph. de Cherubinīs. Bib. Pat.* xiv. 94.

³¹ Actio vi. Harduin, iv. 371. ³² In Matt. xxv. p. 162. In Marc. xiv. p. 272.

must be one of those qualities in the consecrated elements, which must be left unchanged. Otherwise, the alteration will extend not merely to that inward part, which cannot fall within the region of the senses, but to that outward part also, of which they can take cognizance. But an exclusive attention to the notion of a *change* was not unlikely to lead to expressions, if not to thoughts, incompatible with this fundamental characteristic of a sacrament. "This holy bread," says St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "is supersubstantial, that is, appointed for the substance of the soul. For this bread goeth not into the belly, and is cast out into the draught, but is diffused through all thou art, for the benefit of body and soul."³³ St. Cyril probably designed to express nothing but the obvious truth, that the inward part in the Holy Eucharist, *i. e.*, the Body and Blood of Christ, is not subject to bodily digestion. But the absence of any statement that the outward part, or that which is an object of sense, continues to discharge the functions of animal nutriment, would seem as if this truth were discouraged, if not denied.

A still stronger statement occurs in a Homily attributed to St. Chrysostom. "Behold not that it is bread, nor think that it is wine. For it does not, like other food, pass into the draught. God forbid that you should think so. But as wax, when it is brought into contact with fire, suf-

³³ Myst. Cat. v. 15.

fers no diminution nor increase of its substance, so imagine that the mysteries are absorbed in the substance of the body.”³⁴ The writer may have meant nothing, but that the Body and Blood of Christ are not received by the body as corporeal food, but his statement, like a parallel one in St. John Damascene,³⁵ countenances the idea that this cannot be affirmed of either part in the Holy Eucharist. Such assertions were certainly made by later writers in the West, as may be seen from the works of Guitmund,³⁶ Algerus,³⁷ and William of Paris.³⁸

Such were the errors which resulted from too exclusive an attention to the undoubted truth, that the elements in the Holy Eucharist are *changed* by consecration. The School of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. John Damascene, in which this truth was put so prominently forward, has been here called the Eastern School, both because its leading members were Orientals, and because it has a peculiar relation to Greek

³⁴ De Pœnit. Hom. ix. vol. ii. p. 350. ³⁵ De Fide Orth. iv. 13, p. 272.

³⁶ De Veritate Euch. ii. Bib. Pat. xviii. 450.

³⁷ De Sacramento, ii. i. Bib. Pat. xxi. 276.

³⁸ “Manifestum est post benedictionem sacerdotalem rite factam in altaris mensâ, nec panem esse corporis, hoc est materiale, nec vinum. Ex tunc enim mensa est animarum: Totum autem quod ante in ea est, vel fit, est preparatio, sive preparatorium ad spirituales refectionem, et mensam animarum. Placuit autem elementissimo miseratori omnium Deo declarare istud congruenti et decenti miraculo. Cum enim quidam formis illis panis et vini subesse crederet veras panis materialis et vini substantias, aliis cibis uti volebat; et propter hoc in multa quantitate conficiebat, juxta quod ad sustentationem corporis sibi sufficere astimabat. Hinc est quod infra paucos dies deliciens absque alterius morbi occasione, ipso experimento doctus dicere potuit non subesse formis illis, quod corpus ejus nutrire, vel sustentare valeret, cum substantiam impossibile sit nutrire accedentibus.”—*Galichon Parisiensis de Sacramento Eucharistie*, cap. i. p. 415.

Liturgies. But there were two other schools, diffused throughout the whole Church, though their chief writers were also Oriental, which served to qualify this tendency. These Schools consisted, respectively, of the opponents of the Eutychian and the Nestorian heresies: the one of which was led to guard especially against errors respecting the *outward* part, and the other against an erroneous estimate of the *inward* part, of the Holy Eucharist.

The Holy Eucharist is so intimately related to the doctrine of Our Lord's Person, that it is not surprising that those who defended the reality and union of His two natures, should have bethought themselves of it as a fitting illustration of their meaning. At the same time nothing can show more clearly how general was the belief in that sacramental oneness, by which the inward and outward parts are united in the Holy Eucharist, than that it should have been assumed to offer the nearest analogy to that personal union, whereby Godhead and Manhood are united in Christ. Of course the Personal bond is one thing, the Sacramental another: each is peculiar and without parallel; but they are analogous as regards the mystery of their operation, and the reality of their effects. Of this circumstance the opponents of the Eutychian heresy availed themselves. Their object was to maintain that though Godhead and manhood were truly united in the one Person of Christ, yet that the human was not so absorbed in the Divine nature, as to be

altogether lost. They referred, then, to the Holy Eucharist, in which the inward part was allowed to be the real Body of Christ, while yet, they said, the outward elements of bread and wine had still their function to discharge, and were not wholly lost. The chief writer of this school is Theodoret, who dwells upon the truth that the bread and wine, regarded as objects of sense, are unaltered by consecration, and who argues thence that Our Lord's Body and Blood are not lost in that nature of Deity, with which they are united. The orthodox and Eutychian are introduced in Dialogue.

"Eutychian. After the consecration what do you call these things? *Orthodox.* The Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ. *E.* And do you believe that you partake of the Body of Christ, and of His Blood? *O.* Yes, I believe it. *E.* As therefore the Body and Blood of the Lord are one thing before the priestly invocation, but after the priestly invocation they are changed, and become another, so Our Lord's Body, since His taking up, has been changed into the Divine essence. *O.* You are taken in your own net. For after the consecration the mystical symbols are not transferred from their own nature. For they remain in their former essence (*οὐσία*), and shape, and appearance, and are objects of sight and touch, as they were before. But they are understood to be that which they have become, and are believed to be so, and are worshipped, as being those things which they are believed to be."³⁹

Similar statements occur in Gelasius's work against Eutyches and Nestorius, in the letter to Cæsarius, which is attributed to St. Chrysostom, and in Ephraim of Antioch, whose words were quoted (p. 119). "The sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ which we take," says St. Gelasius, "are a

³⁹ *Dialogus Secundus.*

divine thing, because by the same we are made partakers of the divine nature. And yet there does not cease to be the substance or nature of bread and wine."⁴⁰ To the same effect is the letter to Cæsar: "Christ is God and man. God, because He was impassible, man because He suffered. . . . Just as before the bread is sanctified, we call it bread, but when divine grace sanctifies it through the medium of the priest, it is freed from the title of bread, and thought worthy of the title of Our Lord's Body, even though the nature of bread has remained in it; and we do not speak of two bodies, but the one Body of the Son."⁴¹

The opponents of Eutyches, then, were led to make such assertions respecting the *outward* part in the Holy Eucharist, as qualified any tendency to forget its existence, to which the language of the Eastern School might have given rise. But it is obvious that mistakes respecting the *inward* part, or thing signified, would have been far more important. And these were in like manner corrected, through that line of thought which was naturally taken by the opponents of Nestorius. Since their object was to prove that He who discharges the functions of Mediation in His fleshly nature, is personally identical with the Eternal Word, nothing was more directly to the purpose than to show how

⁴⁰ Bib. Pat. Max. viii. 703.

⁴¹ St. Chrysostom, vol. iii. p. 744. If this be really the work of St. Chrysostom, which is very uncertain, it must be supposed that in writing against the Apollinarians he employed the same language which was afterwards used against the Eutychians.

this truth is exhibited in the Holy Eucharist. Hence those many passages already quoted in this work, in which St. Cyril affirms the effect of the Holy Eucharist to depend upon the properties, which Our Lord's Manhood has acquired through its personal oneness with Godhead. All these passages are summed up, as it were, in his 11th Anathema, directed against those who do not allow that the "Flesh of Our Lord is life-giving," "because it has by personal propriety become identified with the Word, who is able to give life to all things."⁴² So that not only has Our Lord consecrated His Body and Blood to be the medium of His own Presence in the Holy Eucharist, but the value of this ordinance is asserted to depend upon the fact, that the Humanity thus present is the very same which, by the Incarnation, was taken into God. And therefore the writings of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and of other opponents of Nestorius, bring out the truth, that the inward part in the Holy Eucharist is not any fresh Body of Christ, but the *very same Body* which He took of the Virgin, and which He offered on the Cross. To quote the words of St. Leo, the final defender of the truth of Our Lord's Person against both its assailants; "although He be placed on the Father's right hand, yet in the *same Flesh* which He took of the Virgin, does He carry out the sacrament of our propitiation."⁴³

⁴² "γέγονεν ἰδίᾳ τοῦ Λόγου."—*Hard*, i. 1294. And vide the defence of this Anathema against the Orientals, *S. Cyril*, vi. 193.

⁴³ Epistola lx. 2. Ad Anatolium.

These different schools, then, qualify the language of one another: the Eastern attests the fact that the elements are changed by consecration, while the opponents of Eutyches witness that the existence of an outward part must not be forgotten, and St. Cyril of Alexandria that the inward part is the very Body of the Incarnate Son. These several ideas, taken conjointly, explain what was meant by the simpler statements of the ante-Nicene age, that the thing present in the Holy Eucharist is the Body of Christ. Meantime, however, there had arisen a school in the Western Church, which had treated this subject in a more accurate and scientific manner, so that the truth of the Holy Eucharist could be brought out, not only by opposite negations, but in a direct and positive manner. Its leading writers were St. Ambrose and St. Augustin; and as the teaching of the Eastern School has been paralleled with the statements of Justin Martyr, so the Western may be considered perhaps to be built upon the words of Irenæus, that the Holy Eucharist consists of two parts, the one earthly, and the other heavenly (*Supra*, p. 274). For the cardinal principle of this school was that the existence both of an outward and of an inward part in the Holy Eucharist was to be admitted.

By the reality of the outward part is meant not only that it is an object to the sight and the touch, but that it retains that power of nourishment, which is our other sign of its sensible exis-

tence. This had been maintained by Origen, by whom St. Ambrose was often influenced, though the extravagances of the great Alexandrian teacher have prevented him from being quoted as an authority in the Church. In particular, Origen's addiction to the Platonic philosophy would naturally lead him to undervalue any facts opposed to its spiritualizing tendency; so that he is a peculiarly unsafe witness respecting the Holy Eucharist. This circumstance destroys his authority, when he seems, though but uncertainly, to indicate, in opposition to the common judgment of antiquity, that none but devout receivers partake of the Real Body of Christ. But when referring to the outward part or visible elements, he makes statements which accord with the system of the great teachers of the Western Church. "That food which is consecrated by the Word of God and by prayer, so far as its material part is concerned, goes into the belly, and is cast out into the draught; but as regards the prayer which is added to it, it becomes useful, according to the analogy of faith, and becomes the cause of discernment to the mind which looks to that which is edifying. And it is not the matter of the bread, but the word which is spoken over it, which benefits him who eats it, not unworthily of the Lord."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Comment. in Matth. Tom. xi. 14, vol. iii. p. 500. In the sequel, Origen speaks of Our Lord's Body as the true food which no bad man is able to eat. His authority is not of great weight, yet he may have designed to say nothing but that the wicked cannot feed spiritually upon Christ, *i. e.* cannot enter into a spiritual relation to Him. This is nothing more than is taught in

Here, then, we have a recognition of the existence of the outward, as well as of the inward part in the Holy Eucharist—the first being not only an object to the senses, but being the means of nutrition to the body, while the inward part, of which it is a type or figure, is the nourishment of the soul. This is the theory which we see more scientifically represented in St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. St. Ambrose opposes the “*ordo naturæ*” to the “*excellentia gratiæ*”—that “*quod natura formavit*” to that “*quod benedictio consecravit*,” and implies the presence of both in that which he calls “*carnis illius sacramentum*.”⁴⁵ But it is in the writings of St. Augustin that these expressions assume a more definite shape. The outward part is called *sacramentum*, the inward *res* or *virtus sacramenti*. St. Augustin dwells upon the distinction with great variety of expression. It is “one thing which is seen, and another which is understood;”⁴⁶ “the sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament another;”⁴⁷ for there is “that which is taken visibly in the sacrament, and that which is spiritually eaten and drunk.”⁴⁸ Hence there is

St. John, 6th, to which he refers, and is not the same thing as to deny that Christ's Body and Blood are really received by all who receive the outward part in the Holy Eucharist. This last he could not mean to deny, if he is to be supposed consistent with himself, since in his work against Celsus he says, “We eat the bread, which is made a certain sacred Body by prayer, and which sanctifies those who with good intent use it.”—*Cont. Celsum*. viii. 33, vol. i. p. 766. Here he discriminates the benefit of the sacrament, which is reaped by the devout alone, from its reality, which, he says, is dependent on the prayer of consecration.

⁴⁵ De Mysteriis, ix. 59, 50, 53. Vide also De Fide, iv. x. 124.

⁴⁶ Sermo 272, vol. v. 1104. ⁴⁷ In Joan. xxvi. 11, vol. iii. part 2. p. 498.

⁴⁸ Sermo 131, vol. v. p. 641.

such a thing as “carnally and visibly pressing with the teeth the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ,” and there is such a thing as “spiritually eating the Flesh of Christ and drinking His Blood;” the “*sacramentum*,” that is, is one thing, the “Body and Blood”⁴⁹ another.

Thus did St. Augustin discriminate the *signum*, and the *res significans*, *vis* or *significatio*.⁵⁰ Yet as the authority of Origen is destroyed by his spiritualizing tendency, so that of this great teacher of the Western Church is somewhat impaired by the exaggerated statements, into which he was led during his later years in his opposition to the Pelagians. His assertions respecting the divine decrees betrayed him into expressions, which have been affirmed to militate against the very truths which his own phraseology had contributed to establish. When he says, indeed, that Judas eat “the bread of the Lord,” while the other disciples “eat the Lord who was bread,”⁵¹ he was only expressing the truth, that a *personal* relation to Our Lord, who gives His Body for our food in this sacrament, is not dependent on the mere partaking of that food, but is reserved for its devout participants. And the same may have been his purpose, when he says that the

⁴⁹ In Joan. xxvi. 18, vol. iii. part 2. p. 501. Several words of this last passage are an insertion, and are to be traced to the time of Bede, when the phraseology which St. Augustin had introduced had been more accurately determined. But they exactly accord with his system; the *sacramentum*, or outward part, is all which the senses can reach to; the inward part is bestowed upon all by means of sacramental union, but none, except the devout, enter into spiritual relation to Christ, or feed on Him spiritually.

⁵⁰ De Doctrina Christ. iii. 9, vol. iii. 1, 49.

⁵¹ In Joan. lix. 1, p. 663.

sacramentum is given "to some to life, to others to destruction," but that "the thing itself, of which it is the *sacramentum*, is given to every man to life, who is a partaker of it."⁵² He could not mean to deny that the inward part is present by virtue of consecration, and that all communicants receive it, because he says in express words that the Body⁵³ and Blood of Christ are received even by those who do not profit by them. On one occasion, indeed, his words seem to imply that the final perseverance of the communicant is a criterion⁵⁴ whether he receives any real gift in the Holy Eucharist. But the passage is open to another interpretation; and we are justified in explaining St. Augustin's lax and general assertions by his more systematic statements. (Vide supra, p. 224.) For we have distinct affirmations in his works⁵⁵ that a real gift is bestowed both in Baptism and the Holy Eucharist; and that this gift is conferred both on those who receive, and on those who reject it. And the gift in the Holy Eucharist he affirms to be the gift of Christ's Body; and this gift he states to be the result of that "mystical consecration,"⁵⁶ which endows the outward sign with the inward reality.

⁵² In Joan. xxvi. 15, p. 500.

⁵³ Epis. 140, sec. 66.

⁵⁴ "Signum quia manducavit et bibit, hoc est, si manet et manetur, si habitat et inhabitatur, *si hæret ut non deseratur.*" In Joan. xxvii. 1, p. 502. But this passage may mean, "if he cleaves *in order that* he may not be deserted." It would then express nothing, but that the *benefit* of the sacramental gift is only obtained by the faithful. This is St. Augustin's own explanation, Sermo 71, 17, vol. v. p. 392.

⁵⁵ Epis. cxl. 66. In Joan. xxvii. 11. De Baptismo contra Don. v. 9, Sermo lxxi. 17.

⁵⁶ "Noster autem panis et calix . . . certa consecratione mysticus fit

But it was by the systematic statements which gave shape to the ancient belief, not through his novel assertions respecting the divine decrees, that St. Augustin formed the mind of the Western Church. His followers at once adopted and matured his views; the *virtus* was more perfectly discriminated from the *res sacramenti*; the first was understood to be the effect attending the Holy Eucharist, the second the reality to which that effect was to be attributed: and thus it was upon his system that the chief writers of the West—Bede among the principal—based their phraseology. So that his teaching appears in the pages of Lombard,⁵⁷ professedly in his own words, but really, it would seem, in the words of his annotators. And thus arose a far more scientific mode of speaking than that which prevailed in the East: each part in the Holy Eucharist was more distinctly recognized; and there was room for assigning its due place to the outward sign, without sacrificing the inward reality.

The brief sketch which has been given, shows the various modes of expression which were em-

nobis, non nascitur. Proinde quod non ita fit, quamvis sit panis et calix, alimentum est refectionis, non sacramentum religionis."—*Cont. Faustum*, xx. 13, vol. viii. p. 342.

⁵⁷ "Ait enim Aug. in lib. Sententiarum Prosperi: hoc est quod dicimus, quod modis omnibus approbare contendimus, sacrificium Ecclesie duobus confici, duobus constare; visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine; sacramento et re sacramenti, id est, corpore Christi."—*Lib. Sent.* iv. x. 2. The words are quoted in *Gratian, De Consecrat.* ii. 48, as though S. Augustin's, but they appear to be Lanfranc's cont. Bereng. 10.

ployed in the early Church respecting the Holy Eucharist, and what were the several circumstances which gave their impress to its phraseology. And it is obvious, that if it were made a question, in what manner Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist was supposed to be brought about, and still more if it were requisite to explain this process, in terms which all parties in the ancient Church would have been prepared to accept, the inquiry would involve considerable difficulty. It would be necessary to find some mode of adjustment between the tendency of the Eastern School, as it has been called, on one side, and that of the opponents of Eutychianism on the other. The former tendency went so far in some instances as to imply that the outward part retained no real existence at all: the latter led to language, which might be represented to mean that it was wholly unaltered. The more scientific statements of the school of St. Augustin did not harmonize exactly with either. And consequently, the theory subsequently maintained by Aquinas, that the *substance* of Our Lord's Body and Blood supersedes that of the bread and wine, while, so far as the senses go, the latter remain wholly unaltered, was an explanation of the mode in which Our Lord's Presence is brought about, which did not exactly accord with the statements of any early party. It gave greater reality to the elements than the followers of St. Cyril of Jerusalem appeared to approve, because it maintained them to

retain the power of corporal nourishment:⁵⁸ it assigned to them less reality than was done by the opponents of Eutyches, whose language seemed to imply that their substance remained wholly unaltered. There can be no necessity therefore for admitting this expression of the *manner* in which Our Lord's Presence is brought about, unless it is commended to us by some later authority, to which we are bound to submit. And therefore, while it is accepted by those who admit the authority of the Council of Trent, it is not accepted by English Churchmen, by whom that Council is not recognized. They withhold their assent from this ac-

⁵⁸ It has been disputed whether the system of Aquinas really implies that the elements retain the power of nourishment; and therefore whether the elements, considered as objects of sense, can still be said to be present. For the process by which the digestive organs supply the body with nourishment, is one of which the senses can take note. Now Aristotle, and the Schoolmen after him, taught that food nourishes through the transference of its *substance* to the party nourished. And Aquinas supposes the substance to be the thing changed. But then Aquinas and his followers maintained, first, that Christ's Body does not nourish our bodies in the Holy Eucharist. ["Corpus Christi est cibus mentis, non ventris; animæ non corporis."—*Opusc.* lix. 6, and vide *Summa*, iii. 77, 6. *Catechis. Trident. Pars. ii. De Euch. Sac.* 50.] Secondly, that our bodies are nourished by the sensible elements. [Vide *Suarez de Sacram. Disp.* lvii. 3. *Cat. Trid. ib.* 39.] And for this Aquinas accounted, by saying that after consecration the *Bulk* took the place of the *Substance*, or in other words, that when the substance was said to be changed, the term *substance* was not to be understood in so wide a sense as that in which it was employed by Aristotle. Vide *Opusc.* lix. 4, *Summa*, iii. 77, 6. The Aristotelian philosophy afforded no doubt a convenient medium for expressing the doctrine of the Sacraments, because, according to its phraseology, every object might be spoken of as consisting of an external *signum*, and an inward *res signi*, the first only being an object to the senses, the second to the mind. The analogy which this system bore to the truths respecting the Sacraments, which had been taught in the early Church, naturally led the Schoolmen to employ it in their explanation. They were not bound, however, to adhere rigidly to the Peripatetic system; and the qualifications introduced by Aquinas show him to have maintained the same doctrine which had been taught by the Roman Council under Gregory VII. long before the Scholastic age. It is thus stated by De Marca: "The *substance* was supposed to exist as something separate from the *bulk* of the bread, so that this *bulk* might exist naturally by itself, without any new miracle, whatever Aristotle may say."—*Traité de l'Eucharistie*, works, vol. v. p. 125.

count of the *manner* in which Our Lord's Presence is brought about in the Holy Eucharist, and allow nothing but that in which all parties in the ancient Church were accordant. They hold, of course, as our Article declares, and as Aquinas would not have denied, that according to that popular sense of the word *substance*, which implies it to be an object to the senses of men, the substance of the elements remains unchanged. But in reference to that more subtile explanation, which was designed by Aquinas, they simply withhold their judgment, and affirm nothing respecting the Holy Eucharist but that which was affirmed by the whole Church, both in the East and West, during the first seven centuries of its existence.

For the accordance of antiquity respecting the Real Presence is rendered more striking by its dissonance respecting the manner in which the Presence is brought about, and the terms in which it is to be stated. This doctrine is shown not to have been the result of a theory which everywhere suggested the same conclusions, but to have been a practical conviction, rooted in the deep and widespread belief of a whole community. In the East and West, whether men were opposing Nestorius or Eutyches, however they might express themselves respecting the outward elements which were the medium of conveying an inward blessing, there prevailed the same full conviction, that the Body and Blood of Christ were really communicated,

under the forms of bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist. There might be a difference, therefore, as to the phrases employed, but there was none as to the fact which they were designed to attest. And how should there be such concert respecting the thing conveyed, while about the scientific statement of the mode of conveying it there was such diversity, except because this was a constituent part of the Church's original deposit? What can be meant by her authority as the appointed witness to Our Lord's declarations, if the consentient affirmation of undivided Christendom was fundamentally erroneous?

We may now turn, by way of confirmation, to the two criteria which it was proposed to apply to this subject, and inquire what was the opinion of the various schools which have been described, respecting the reverence due to the consecrated elements, and respecting the invariable connexion between the outward form and the inward gift. These were stated to be indications that the systems of Zuinglius and of Calvin were held to be insufficient, and that the doctrine of the Real Presence was accepted. If we find, then, the same opinions and usages to have prevailed among parties who were divergent in their objects and modes of thought, it will be a further proof that their *belief* was fundamentally identical.

First—The plainest proof which men can give that they suppose Christ to be really present in

the Holy Eucharist, is to render Him Divine honour. So much seems to be allowed both by those who admit the Real Presence and by those who reject it. Luther, as being of the former number, retained the elevation of the Host when he drew up a service for Wittenberg.⁵⁹ Calvin⁶⁰ rests his assertion that Our Lord ought not to be worshipped in the Holy Eucharist, on the ground of His absence; and affirms distinctly, that if Our Lord were really present there, He ought to be adored. Bishop Andrewes⁶¹ employs the same argument; but since he admits the Real Presence he draws a contrary conclusion. "Christus ipse Sacramenti res, in et cum sacramento; extra et sine sacramento, ubi ubi est, *adorandus* est." On this principle it was that the posture of kneeling for the reception of the elements was so warmly objected to by the Zuinglo-Calvinistic party. And its retention by the Church of England, in opposition to the repeated demands of the Puritans at home, as

⁵⁹ "Elevatur panis et calix, ritu hactenus servato."—*Form. Communi. pro Eccles. Witten. Luther*, vol. ii. fol. 384. Cotta, in his notes on Gerhard (vol. x. p. 469), says that Luther "retinuit *elevationis* ritum tanquam liberum et indifferentem, propter infirmos, non adorationis ergo; abrogavit autem postea eundem, reddiditque abolitionis rationem." But Luther's own words to the Waldenses, A. D. 1523, go much further. "Qui non credit Christum suo corpore et sanguine in sacramento presentem esse, ille recte facit, quod neque spiritualiter, neque carnaliter adorat. Qui vero hoc credit, ut credi debere satis superque demonstratum est, ille profecto carni et sanguini Christi venerationem denegare sine peccato nullo modo potest."—*Hospinian*, vol. ii. 19. And it would seem that the custom of Elevation was in reality done away at the instance of the Landgrave, A. D. 1544, to satisfy the Swiss.—*Hospinian*, ii. 328.

⁶⁰ "Sic enim semper ratiocinati sumus, si Christus est in pane, esse sub pane adorandum."—*Calvin ad. Hesous*, works, viii. 727.

⁶¹ *Andrewes' Resp. ad Bellarminum*, viii. p. 266. (Anglo-Cath. Lib.) So Gerhard, *De Sacra Cæna*, cap. xix. 208, "Quis negat carnem Christi adorandam? Adoramus eam in sacramento, sed externa sacramenti symbola non adoramus."

well as to the example of foreign Protestants, is a fact of great moment, by which she is allied to the ancient faith. This fact is not neutralized by the somewhat ambiguous rubric which was affixed to the Communion office in 1662. For if this rubric be compared with that of King Edward's Second Book, from which it was borrowed, it will be seen that the compilers in 1662 omitted the distinctive words of Calvin's system. He denied that Our Lord's Body possesses any other than a *natural* mode of presence, and his common mode of arguing against those who believed the Real Presence, was to attribute to them all the inconveniences which would result from the supposition that Christ's *natural* Presence was vouchsafed in the consecrated elements. This opinion of his was shared by the advisers of King Edward VI., who, without any sanction from the Church of England, imposed upon her the Prayer Book of 1552, and the Articles, which were published in the same year. They affirmed in one of their articles that, "forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in some one certain place, therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and divers places: and because, as Holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into heaven, . . . a faithful man ought not to believe . . . the *real* and bodily presence of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament of the

Lord's Supper." And at the same time they declared in the Rubric, which they affixed to their Communion Office, "that it is not meant that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any *real* and *essential* presence, there being, of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." This was to assert that Christ's Body possesses no other than that natural mode of presence, which it is allowed that He exercises only in heaven, and to affirm that He ought not to be worshipped in the Holy Eucharist, because He is really absent.

Now, the characteristic words of the Calvinistic system were omitted, both from the 28th Article, as accepted by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1562, and from the Rubric which was inserted after the Restoration. This Rubric only affirms that Christ's *natural* Body and Blood are in heaven and not here, and that no adoration is intended "either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." The Rubric certainly does not go on to state, as it might have done, that though Christ's Body and Blood are not *naturally* present, except in heaven, yet that their *supernatural* Presence is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist; and that though no adoration be due to the bread and wine, or to any such corporal Presence as the senses can take cognizance of, yet that Christ's Body and Blood, *really* present under the forms of

bread and wine, as the inward part or *res sacramenti*, are entitled to, and receive adoration. Yet since the words which denied these truths have been omitted, while the practice of kneeling for the reception of the elements continues to be enforced, there is nothing in this Rubric which excludes the ancient belief, that Christ is present in the Holy Eucharist, by reason of the presence of His Body and Blood; and that the presence of His Body and Blood is witnessed by the adoration to which they are entitled.

That such was the opinion of the ancient Church is testified by its writers of all schools and sentiments. That it should be found in those who, like St. Cyril and his followers, fixed their attention almost exclusively upon the inward reality, can surprise no one. Anastatius Sinaita, in whom this tendency reached its height, speaks of a direct act of elevation, as practised in his day. “*Post sacrificii illius inruenti consecrationem, Panem vitæ in altum elevat, ipsumque omnibus ostendit.*”⁶² But St. Cyril directs men “to approach to the Cup of His Blood; not stretching forth their hands, but bending and saying in the way of worship and reverence, Amen.”⁶³ St. Chrysostom also, who in many places accords with the language of St. Cyril, speaks of Christ’s Presence in the Holy Eucharist as a “fearful and wondrous sight.” “For if we come with faith, we shall assuredly see Him lying

⁶² De Sacra Synaxi. Bib. Pat. Max. ix. 945.

⁶³ Fifth Myst. Cat. 22.

in the manger. For this table stands in the place of the manger. And there will lie the Body of the Lord; not wrapped as then in swaddling clothes, but on every side clothed with the Holy Ghost. The initiated understand what I say."⁶⁴ And he states in various ways, that Our Lord, as present in the elements, is entitled to the same reverence which was paid Him when He was visibly manifest in the flesh. He speaks of the Energumeni⁶⁵ as introduced into Church to pay bodily reverence to Christ, by "bowing the head" when His Presence is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, because they may not join in the Church's words of prayer. And again he describes them as brought in like prisoners, and placed as criminals would be at the time the judge was going to take his place, "when Christ is about, as it were, to seat Himself on a lofty tribunal, and to appear in the mysteries themselves."⁶⁶ He speaks of angels as "trembling at the Church's sacrifice," and as "ministering at that table."⁶⁷ And he describes them as seen in a

⁶⁴ Hom. de B. Philogon. iii. vol. i. p. 498.

⁶⁵ Hom. de Incomprehens. Dei Nat. iii. 7, vol. i. p. 470.

⁶⁶ Hom. de Incomprehens. Dei Nat. iv. 4. Bingham objects that the reverence thus paid would be to the elements before they were consecrated. For the Energumeni were ordered by the Apos. Cons. viii. 7, to go out before Consecration. But there are two passages in St. Chrysostom. When he speaks (p. 477,) of the Energumeni as taking their place like criminals when the judge is about to mount the tribunal, because Christ is about to appear in the mysteries, he expresses the reverence which is due even to the *anticipated* mystery: but at p. 470, he speaks of their postures of reverence at the moment of the sacrifice itself. And the entire exclusion of the Energumeni was not the universal rule, as is shown by Concil. Araus. i. Canon 14, Concil. Arelat. ii. Canon 39, Cassian Collat. vii. 30. St. Chrysostom's words are founded obviously on this last custom. The Apost. Constit. also introduce a second prayer for the Energumeni after the Oblation. viii. 12.

⁶⁷ Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Ephes. 4, 5.

vision standing round the altar, with eyes fixed on the ground, like soldiers before their king.⁶⁸

But it is not only in St. Chrysostom and St. Cyril, but among the opponents of the Eutychians, who in expression were most removed from that which has been called the Eastern School, that we find direct statements that Our Lord's Body, as present in the Holy Eucharist, is a fit object of worship. "The mystical symbols," says Theodoret, "are thought of as that which they have become, and are believed to be so, and are *worshipped*, as being those things which they are believed to be."⁶⁹ Theodoret speaks as though the elements themselves might partake of that worship which is due to the "*res sacramenti*," which they contain. But this cannot have been his intention. He speaks of the sacrament at large as an object of worship, because Our Lord is contained in it, just as St. Matthew tells us that St. John saw the Holy Ghost descending, when he saw the dove which accompanied the Divine approach. This is explained by St. Augustin, who tells us that "the symbols of divine things are visible, but it is the invisible things themselves which are honoured in them."⁷⁰ And the same thing is obvious from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, where, after the consecrated elements have been the object of various acts of reverence, the Priest says, "look down, O Lord, from heaven upon those who have bowed

⁶⁸ De Sacerdotio, vi. 4.

⁶⁹ Dialogus Secund.

⁷⁰ De Catechis. Rud. sec. 50.

their heads unto Thee, for they have not bowed them to flesh and blood, but to Thee the fearful God.”⁷¹ It is the “*res sacramenti*” alone, that is, which is a proper object of worship, and even this not by reason of Christ’s Manhood, but by reason of that Godhead with which it is personally united. “I fear to touch charcoal,” says Damascene, “on account of the fire, which is joined to the wood. In like manner I adore both natures in Christ, on account of the Godhead which is joined to the Flesh.”⁷²

This is more exactly explained if we look to another school of writers—those who opposed Nestorius. For as Leontius expresses it, when writing against the Nestorians, who denied that God the Word and the Man Christ Jesus were personally united; “if men hold this opinion, whose Body and Blood do they suppose that they partake in the Communion? Is it His who has conferred a gift” (*i. e.*, God the Word), “or His who has received one” (*i. e.*, the Man Christ)? “If they say that they partake the Body of God the Word who confers the gift, how can they make this good, since they do not confess Him to be incarnate? But if they say they partake Him, who receives the gift, their hope is vain; since they profess themselves to be man-worshippers. For cursed are they who put their trust in man, who worship and serve the creature

⁷¹ Goar, p. 81.

⁷² S. Joh. Damasc. de Fide Orthod. iii. 8, p. 216. Vide also Rusticus cont. Acephalos. Bib. Pat. x. p. 373.

more than the Creator.”⁷³ Here it is obvious that the worship which was due to Christ’s Body, and which especially connected itself with His Presence in the Holy Eucharist, was due to Him indeed as Man, but not by reason of His Manhood.

We have seen that expressions, indicative that Christ was present as an object of worship in the Holy Eucharist, were used by writers of the School of St. Cyril in the East, as well as by the opponents of Nestorius and of Eutyches. They occur with no less distinctness in the two leaders of the Western School, St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. Both refer to the same passage, “earth is My footstool;” which they interpret of the Humanity of Our Lord. “By the footstool,” says St. Ambrose, “is understood earth, but by earth the Flesh of Christ, which even at this day we adore in the mysteries, and which the Apostles adored in Our Lord Jesus Christ : for Christ is not divided, but one ; nor when He is adored as the Son of God, is He denied as born of the Virgin.”⁷⁴ In like manner, St. Augustin : Christ “walked on earth in His Flesh, and gave His Flesh itself to us to be eaten for our salvation ; but no one eats that Flesh who has not first worshipped.”⁷⁵ And he says that the wicked come to

⁷³ Leontius cont. Nestor. et Eutych. iii. Bib. Pat. ix. 704.

⁷⁴ De Spiritu Sancto, iii. xi. 79.

⁷⁵ “Nemo autem illam carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit.” “Non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando.”—*In Psalm.* xeviii. sec. 9.

Christ's Table and *worship*,⁷⁶ though they are not profited by the gift of His Body. It only remains to observe further, that the same view of things is sanctioned also by the language of the ante-Nicene age. The Apostolical Constitutions, which apparently express the usages of the period when the Church was not yet established, order the Deacons to "minister to the Body of the Lord with fear;" and the people to "receive the Body of the Lord, and His precious Blood, in an orderly manner, with fear and reverence, as if they approached the Body of the King."⁷⁷ And Origen, who expresses what he calls "the common apprehension of simple people,"⁷⁸ as well as his own spiritualizing conception, reminds his readers how persons were accustomed to take part in "the divine mysteries." "You know, when you receive the Lord's Body, that you preserve it with all caution and reverence, lest the least portion of it should fall; lest any of the consecrated gift should be lost. For you think yourself guilty, and think so rightly, if any of it falls through your negligence."⁷⁹ And Tertullian⁸⁰ witnesses to the same feeling.

Secondly—Thus early did those habits prevail to which later writers gave more exact expression, by which the presence of Our Lord's Body in the Holy Eucharist was clearly recognized. For the

⁷⁶ Epist. cxl. sec. 66.

⁷⁷ Lib. ii. 57.

⁷⁸ In Joann. Tom. xxxii. 16, vol. iv. p. 444.

⁷⁹ In Exodum Hom. 13, 3, vol. ii. p. 176.

⁸⁰ De Corona, 3.

reverence which was shown to the inward part, or *res sacramenti*, in this ordinance, is not referrible to any express command : it was the instinctive expression of those feelings, which the Christian mind naturally entertained upon the revelation of its Lord's Presence. It witnesses, therefore, to the nature of that union which was understood to take place between the outward part and the inward part in the Holy Eucharist. No less significant is the fact, that the Body and Blood of Christ were believed to be orally received even by unworthy communicants. This likewise will be found to have been the opinion of all those ancient schools, which have been described. It was the opinion of St. Cyprian, who speaks to the lapsed of the evil which they incurred by receiving the Lord's Body unworthily. It is "the Lord's Body," he says, "which they attack : " "they do violence to the Body and Blood of the Lord."⁸¹ And his correspondent, Firmilian, speaks of the greatness of the crime committed, when men who are rashly admitted to communion are allowed, in spite of the Apostle's warning, to "touch the Body and Blood of the Lord."⁸² To such persons Origen says, "you do not fear to approach to the Eucharist, and to partake of *the Body of Christ*, as if you

⁸¹ *De Lapsis*, p. 173. And again, "Quod non statim Domini corpus inquinatis manibus accipiat, aut ore polluto Domini sanguinem bibat, sacerdotibus sacrilegus irascitur."—*Ibidem*, p. 175. St. Pacian speaks of such a person as "Dominici Corporis violator."—*Paræn. ad Penit. Bib. Pat.* iv. 316.

⁸² St. Cypr. Ep. lxxv. 21.

were pure and clean.”⁸³ “Tyrants,” says St. Athanasius, “seek after the royal purple ; but its guardians, suspecting danger, do not grant it. Do you see, O Deacon, that you do not give the purple of the spotless Body to the unworthy.”⁸⁴ So St. Chrysostom : “how shalt thou present thyself before the Judgment-seat of Christ, thou who presumest upon His Body with polluted hands and lips.”⁸⁵ And again, “I will rather lose my life than give Our Lord’s Blood to the unworthy.”⁸⁶ So does Victor of Antioch speak of it as a punishment for the impiety of Judas, that Satan was not repelled by “the Body of Christ, which he had received.”⁸⁷ Theodoret tells us that “Christ did not give His Body and Blood to His eleven Apostles only, but to him also who had betrayed Him.”⁸⁸ And St. Cyril of Alexandria says that “Christ comes and appears to *all of us*, both invisibly and visibly ; invisibly indeed as God, but visibly by His Body. For He permits and allows us to touch His sacred Flesh. For by the favour of God we approach to the participation of the mystic Eucharist, receiving Christ in our hands.”⁸⁹

Here, then, are authorities in proof of our position, from four out of the five schools, the existence of which has been traced. And not less decisive are

⁸³ In Psalmos. Hom. ii. 6, vol. ii. p. 688.

⁸⁴ Montfaucon’s Coll. Nov. vol. ii. p. 35.

⁸⁵ Hom. iii. 4. ad Ephes.

⁸⁶ In Matth. Hom. 82, 6. vol. vii. p. 790.

⁸⁷ Bib. Pat. iv. 407.

⁸⁸ In Epis. i. ad Corin. cap. xi.

⁸⁹ In Joann. xii. vol. iv. p. 1104.

the assertions of St. Augustin, some of whose words have been already cited in the present chapter. Thus when he observes that some who receive Christ's Body and Blood do not abide in Him, he expresses himself as follows: "Those many persons who either eat that Flesh or drink that Blood with a false heart, or when they have eaten and drunk become apostates—do they abide in Christ or Christ in them?"⁹⁰ And again: "The Body of the Lord and the Blood of the Lord were not the less received even by those to whom the Apostle said, he that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself."⁹¹ And of the rich he says, "they are brought to the table of Christ, and receive of His Body and Blood, but they only worship, they are not refreshed, because they do not imitate."⁹²

And now, then, we are in a condition to affirm, that the language of the ancient Church was not only incompatible with the theories of Zuinglius and Calvin, but that we can trace its accordance in a different doctrine. It has been seen how the *verbal* discrepancies of its various schools illustrates their *substantial* consent. It has been shown what was the opinion in all of them respecting the reverence due to Our Lord's Body and Blood, as present under the form of the consecrated elements.

⁹⁰ Sermo lxxi. 17. Vide also Sermo cclxvi. 7.

⁹¹ De Baptismo c. Don. v. 9.

⁹² Ep. cxl. sec. 66. "Polluimus panem, i.e. Corpus Christi, quando indigni accedimus ad altare."—*St. Jerom. on Malachi*, i. 7, vol. iii. p. 1811. Vide also St. Leo, *Sermo* xli. 5. *De Quad.* and lii. 3.

Again, they all believed the outward form to be uniformly accompanied by the inward reality. So that they not only negative the idea that Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist is merely Symbolical or Virtual, but they may be adduced as witnesses to the truth of the Real Presence.

CHAPTER X.

THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S REAL PRESENCE NO INTER-
FERENCE WITH THE OFFICE OF THE HOLY GHOST.

It was shown in the first six chapters, by reference to the words of Institution, that the Being whose Presence is especially bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, is Our Lord Jesus Christ. And this statement has been confirmed in the three last chapters, by the testimony both of Scripture and of Antiquity. But an objection may be made to this system, which it is the more necessary to meet, because it may be entertained by earnest and devout persons. It may be thought that to represent Our Lord as communicating those blessings which this sacrament conveys, through the gift of His *Humanity*, is an interference with the office of the Holy Ghost, as the sanctifier of Christians. This objection will be considered in the present chapter; and it will be shown that the Sacramental system, and the efficacy attributed to Our Lord's Humanity, do not trench upon the office of God the Holy Ghost "as the Lord and Giver of life."

The objection referred to assumes a singular form in Johnson's learned work on the Unbloody Sacrifice. He admits the existence of a *res sacramenti*, but instead of supposing it to be that Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, and which suffered on the Cross, he imagines that a *new* Body is formed for Our Lord out of bread and wine by the power of the Holy Ghost. So that, as Waterland expresses it, he does not believe that "the elements" are "in any just sense Our Lord's Body," but "a kind of *impanation* of the Spirit."¹ And this he thinks a sufficient account of the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, because this "Sacramental Body and Blood are made as powerful and effectual for the ends of religion, as the Natural Body Itself could be, if It was present."²

Johnson cannot have perceived how subversive is this notion of the whole economy of the Gospel. For it cuts off the relation of the Holy Eucharist to the Incarnation of Christ; and transfers from the Mediator a part of that work which has been performed through the taking our flesh. Now nothing can be more certain than that it is God the Son alone who became Incarnate, and not God the Father, or God the Holy Ghost. But without entering further upon the theory of Johnson, I

¹ *Doctrine of the Eucharist*, cap. vii. Johnson's idea has an obvious relation to that which was shown (Sup. cap. ix. p. 278.) to be characteristic of the school of St. Cyril and St. John Damascene; and it may have resulted therefore from his wish to symbolize with the Eastern, rather than with the Western Church.

² Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. i. p. 266 and 272. Vol. ii. Pref. 4, 5. Anglo-Cath. Lib.

shall proceed to show that Our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist in no respect derogates from the office of the Holy Ghost. This shall be shown, first, by that which is revealed to us in Scripture respecting the relation of these blessed Persons to one another; and secondly, by the testimony of the Church.

I. Now, on what does this notion depend? It assumes that it has belonged to God the Holy Ghost, to direct and execute all the purposes of the Divine mercy since the day of Pentecost, while before Our Lord's Ascension the like function belonged to God the Son; and further that the functions of these two Divine Persons in some way interfere with one another, so that whatsoever is done by the one cannot also be done by the other. Their action is supposed to be *successive* and not *coincident*. It would seem to be believed that to attribute results to one which are acknowledged to be effected by the other, is to derogate in some way from the truth of their personal distinctness. But if this be so, their personal distinctness must be determined by their external actions. So that their relations towards mankind must be the circumstance, whereby the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity are discriminated from one another. From which it would follow, that if man and the external world had never been called into existence, the distinction between the Three Blessed Persons had never been. Now this is exactly the heresy of Sabellius.

We may not seek the distinction, then, between the Three Blessed Persons, in anything less enduring than themselves. Since nothing is co-eval with Godhead, in Godhead itself must lie the conditions which determine its own nature. The relations of the Three Persons towards one another must supply the principle of their discrimination. That which is characteristic of the Father, is to be the self-originating source of Godhead. The Word is the Only-begotten Son of the Father. The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. These are the conditions which discriminate the Blessed Persons from one another, and nothing which does not derogate from these conditions, has any tendency to interfere with their distinctness. For it must be remembered, as St. Augustin says, that "the Holy Ghost does not alone in the Trinity claim the attribute of being a Spirit, or being Holy, since the Father is a Spirit, and the Son a Spirit; the Father is Holy, and the Son Holy."³ So that it is an admitted rule, that whatsoever things the Deity does externally towards created objects, are done by the Three Persons in common, and not by one more than another, or by one without another. The act of Incarnation itself, though it was God the Son alone who became man, is yet spoken of as effected by the whole Trinity.⁴

³ De Trinitate, xv. 37.

⁴ "Incarnationem Verbi Trinitas fecit; et tamen non pertinet incarnatio nisi ad Verbum."—*De Trin. Tract. 9. Append. to S. Ambrose*, vol. ii. p. 326. Vide S. Augus. Sermo lxxi. 26, 27. Petavius de Trinitate, viii. 1, 13; and de Incarnatione, ii. 4, 2.

From these considerations it follows, that we have no reason for excluding the action of one Person in the Blessed Godhead, because another Person is revealed to us as having taken part in the same work, unless there be something in the act, which interferes with those primary relations to one another, which constitute the law of their adorable nature. Thus the Father⁵ could not be said to *proceed* from the Son or the Holy Ghost; nor yet the Holy Ghost to be Father⁶ to the Word; inasmuch as even that mission to the world of Creation, whereby these Blessed Persons exercise their functions of mercy towards mankind, has a just reference to those original relations out of which it springs, and is the *temporal* effect of *eternal* realities. But these eternal relations supply the only principle, whereby we can limit those temporal relations in the world of time, through which they are made known to us.

It is the more necessary to bear this principle in mind, because it has been made an objection, as well to the teaching of Holy Scripture, as to the language of the Church, that names and offices, which at times are distinctive of one Person in the Blessed Trinity, are elsewhere applied to Godhead at large, or to each Person⁷ indiscriminately.

⁵ "Pater nusquam dicitur missus."—*S. Augus. de Trinit.* ii. 8. Vide Petavius de Trinitate, viii. 1, 14.

⁶ "De Spiritu Sancto natus est Filius Dei Patris, non Spiritus Sancti."—*S. Augus. Enchiridion.* cap. 39. Vide eleventh Council of Toledo. *Hard.* iii. 1022.

⁷ This is observed as respects the Son and the Holy Ghost, by S. Cyril on S. John, vi. 64, vol. iv. p. 377.

Thus it has been argued by the German Neologists, that the very same office, which in the three first Gospels (the Synopticers, as they term them) is assigned to the Spirit, is attributed in St. John's Gospel to the Logos. In the former they say Christ is represented as a man actuated by the Spirit; while St. John introduces a new idea, and attributes the same functions to the Word. So far as there is any justice in the remark, its cause is not only that truths, which are stated in more general terms in earlier books of Scripture, are more explicitly revealed in later, but also that the action of God the Word by no means excludes the agency of God the Holy Ghost. This might be gathered from St. Matthew, as well as from St. John: the former states Our Lord's declaration that all power was given unto Him in Heaven and in earth, and records the threefold form of Baptism; while the latter relates the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Our Lord at His Baptism.

The very same difficulty, again, which has been supposed to attach to the statements of Holy Scripture, may be raised in regard to the teaching of the Primitive Church. "No one who is acquainted with the writings of the earlier Fathers, can deny that the words 'Spirit,' or 'Holy Spirit,' were not used by them as a name peculiar to one Person, but were supposed to be common to the whole Godhead, and were attributed indifferently to the Father, the

Son, and the Holy Ghost.”⁸ This uncertainty of expression continued till the language of Theology received that more exact shape, which was given to it by the great Divines of the fourth century. But if the *offices* of these Divine Persons had been wholly distinct, there would have been nothing to lead to such ambiguity. When the growth of heresy made it necessary to introduce more rigorous precision, it was observed that the *temporal* Mission of God the Word and of God the Holy Ghost, arose out of the principles of their *eternal* existence; that their nature was fixed by their relations to the eternal Father, and to one another (the only relations which were co-eval with themselves); and therefore that the true test by which their operations were to be discriminated, must be found in themselves. Hence arose the statement that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father—a statement which, though not denied by earlier writers, yet had never received that full and elaborate treatment which led to its insertion as an Article of the Creed, till it came into discussion in St. Augustin’s great work on the Trinity. It fully accords indeed with the language of all earlier writers both in the East and West, for all speak of God the Holy Ghost as sent by the Son, and recognize His actings in the world of time as growing out of His eternal rela-

⁸ Benedictine Preface to S. Hilary, where various instances are cited in support of the statement here made; sec. 62.

tions; but in this, as in every other particular, there was a lack of that dogmatic precision which was found to be necessary, when "by reason of use" the Church had her senses exercised to discern good and evil. From St. Augustin's time this truth was never disputed by any Western writers, and it was admitted by the most distinguished divine⁹

⁹ Whatever may be said of the other Greek Divines who preceded the Great Schism, I think it clear that St. Cyril held the double Procession. His declaration that "the Spirit is from the Substance of the Father and the Son," coupled with the passage immediately following, that the Holy Ghost "proceeds from the Father and the Son," [in the 34th Book of his *Thesaurus*, p. 345]; and again, the statement that "the Spirit is God," "because He is of the Substance of the Son," [*Id.* p. 346] are surely decisive. For that the Holy Ghost proceeds *from the Substance* of the Son, is all which is required by the advocates of the Double Procession. Numerous other passages from St. Cyril's works are collected by Petavius de Trinitate, vii. 3. 6-11. The other divines, whose language was less distinct, may have designed merely to deny the heretical assertion, that the Holy Ghost was a *creation* of the Son; and this they supposed was to be best done by representing Him as the natural efflux of Deity, that is, as proceeding from the Father. This was by no means equivalent to the assertion that He does not proceed from the Son *also*—as being one principle and of one substance with the Father. Indeed, as the Son was supposed to inherit all the Father's attributes, except self-existence, He must have inherited that of being the Source whence the Holy Ghost proceeded. But the same argument is not applicable to the Holy Ghost, because as the Son is antecedent (in the order of relations), the Holy Ghost inherits only those attributes of Godhead, besides self-existence, which are compatible with the relations of the Father to the Son. "The Holy Ghost has this characteristic sign of His hypostatic individuality, that He is taken note of after the Son, and with the Son, and that He has His existence from the Father."—*S. Basil*. Ep. 38, sec. 4, vol. iii. p. 117. So that the Holy Ghost cannot be the source of the Son, as the Son is the source of the Holy Ghost. The statements of the early Greek writers that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *through* the Son, are virtually equivalent to the more exact expressions introduced by St. Augustin. And it must be observed that no primitive writer of approved reputation has written against the Double Procession, while St. Augustin, whose authority was universally admitted both in the East and West, has avowedly written in its favour. [Theodoret is no exception, because his objections to St. Cyril's Anathemas were written under the idea that St. Cyril had adopted the Arian hypothesis, and moreover they were not approved even by the Eastern Church.] Indeed, St. Augustin's statements are so decisive, that Mr. Neale, who has evidently written on this subject with a bias in favour of the Eastern Church, can find nothing to say against them, but that they *may* be spurious. But of this there is no proof: the Benedictine Edition of the *De Trinitate* is founded on a collation of above sixty manuscripts; and the passages objected to by Mr. Neale are found in all of them. Several early manuscripts of the *De Trinitate*, exhibiting the common text, are preserved at Oxford, and an Uncial manuscript (No. 1556), in the

who succeeded him in the East. It seems to have been put upon its right basis by the Council of Toledo, when it was affirmed to be essential to the full discrimination of those Blessed Persons, the law of whose existence must be found within themselves. "The Holy Ghost is neither the Father nor the Son, because He proceeds from the Father and the Son."¹⁰ And thus does it confirm that principle which had been laid down at an earlier period, that the names and offices of the Persons in the Blessed Trinity are dependent upon their relations towards one another.¹¹

We may conclude, then, with certainty, that there is no reason for excluding the operation of God the Word from the Holy Eucharist, because the consecration of the sacred Elements is attributed to God the Holy Ghost, unless there be something in the relations of these Blessed Persons towards one another, by which their co-operation in this action is rendered inadmissible. But so far

Bodleian, would be sufficient in itself to decide the question. Its date in the seventh or eighth century (a hundred years probably before the time of Photius), proves that it could not have been falsified to meet his statements; and the slightest inspection shows that the passages in question have not been tampered with. Moreover, the statements of St. Augustin are so intertwined with the whole thread of his reasoning, that it would be impossible to dis sever them. The same may be said of St. Augustin's imitator, St. Fulgentius, in whom the statement of the Double Procession recurs constantly. [Vide *Bib. Pat.* vol. ix. p. 39, 40, 183, 190, 193, 289, 295.] Does not this whole controversy respecting the Double Procession arise from the immethodical manner in which the writers of the first three centuries spoke of the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity; and might not objections of the same sort be made to His Godhead, His Personality, and to the propriety of making Him the object of prayer?

¹⁰ Witassius de Trinitate Quæst. ix. Art. iii. cap. iii. as explanatory of the Creed of the eleventh Council of Toledo.

¹¹ "τὸ . . . τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως διάφορον, διάφορον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κλήσιν πεποιήκει."—*S. Greg. Nazian.* Oratio 37. vol. i. p. 597. (Paris 1630.) Vide also *S. Gregory Nyssen.* Lib. i. contra Eunom. and Epistola ad Ablavium.

is this from being the case, that their relations towards one another would lead us to expect the exact contrary: they render it antecedently probable that God the Son and God the Holy Ghost would co-operate in any great work of mercy; and more especially in that ordinance which has been appointed as the means of giving effect to the Incarnation, by building up the mystical Body of Christ.

That these Divine Persons co-operate in all works of mercy, is apparent from the benediction of the Apostle; "the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all." Hereby we learn how all Three Persons in the Blessed Godhead take part in the salvation of mankind. But this is more especially the case in the Holy Eucharist, wherein that gift, which is bestowed by the mercy of the Father, is conveyed to us through the unbounded goodness of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. For the revealed law, according to which these adorable Persons are declared to exist, tends directly to their co-operation in this work. The characteristic of the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity is to exist according to that law of Sonship, whereby He is a representative of the Eternal Father—"the express image of His Person." And since the Source of all things is an Eternal Mind, and since mind images itself in its thoughts, therefore He, who is ever with God, is called His Word,

or wisdom.¹² “Whosoever,” says St. Augustin, “can conceive of a word not only before it is uttered, but even before the sounds which express it receive a being in our thoughts, he may see a sort of likeness of that Word of which it was said, ‘in the beginning was the Word.’”¹³ Again, the characteristic of the Holy Ghost, is to proceed from the Father and the Son. In Him we have no law of Sonship, no representation of that from which He originates, but He is the Eternal Spirit, who is common to those Divine Persons who are bound together by that unutterable oneness, which unites the Father and the Only-begotten Son. “The Holy Ghost, according to the sacred Scriptures, is not the Spirit of the Father alone, nor of the Son alone, but of both ; and therefore He suggests to us that common Love, wherewith the Father and the Son mutually love one another.”¹⁴

Of these two Divine Persons, then, it was God the Son, “by whom”¹⁵ the worlds were made. By that power which flowed into Him from the source of all by necessary derivation, did He produce those effects of which, in another sense, the whole Blessed Trinity may be said to be the cause. And since by reason of His Sonship He was Himself the image and effulgence of His Eternal Father, therefore man, whom He created in His own image, was created “in the image of God.” And hence did the

¹² St. John, i. 1. Proverbs, viii. 30.

¹⁴ S. Aug. de Trin. xv. 27.

¹³ De Trin. xv. 19.

¹⁵ Hebrews, i. 2.

Primitive Church discern a wonderful example of the wisdom as well as the love of God, in that merciful economy whereby He who created man was pleased to redeem him. "It seemeth a thing unconsonant," says Hooker, "that the world should honour any other as the Saviour but Him whom it honoureth as the Creator of the world."¹⁶ "Now what is that image of God," says Origen, "in whose likeness man was made, except our Saviour? In His likeness man was created, and therefore our Saviour, who is the image of God, moved with compassion for man's state, when He saw him stripped of that likeness, and clothed with the likeness of the Fiend, took man's form and came to him."¹⁷ Thus did the Everlasting Son enter into the world of time, and He who was the Father's representative by Eternal Generation, became His representative also by temporal birth. For He "is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature." "For it was fitting," says St. Ambrose, "that He should ransom who created us."¹⁸ "God sent His Son, that He who was the Creator of the world should be also its Redeemer."¹⁹ Thus because Christ made man, was He pleased to remake him; and that He might remake him did He Himself become Incarnate; and because He took our nature in the Virgin's womb, is it He who communicates Himself

¹⁶ Eccl. Polity, v. 51, 3.

¹⁷ Homil. i. in Genesim, vol. ii. p. 57. (Delarue).

¹⁸ De Fide.

¹⁹ S. Aug. in Petavius de Incarn. ii. 15 3; vide also S. Athan, contra Apollin. ii. 10.

in the Holy Eucharist to His earthly brethren. For this Sacrament is built upon the truth of Our Lord's Incarnation, and is the medium whereby that gift, which was bestowed therein upon the body at large, is distributed to its individual members. Such is the statement of Holy Scripture, as explained by the concurrent testimony of antiquity. "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." The ultimate principle of life is Deity alone, by which the spiritual inhabitants of heaven are perpetually replenished. But God became Flesh that "man" might "eat angels' food," and that the children of earth might be enabled to participate with the children of heaven. "I am that bread of life." "For man," says St. Augustin, "does not live on one food and angels on another. He Himself is the truth, the wisdom, the virtue of God. But angels partake of it as you cannot do. For how do angels partake of it? As that statement teaches, 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' by which all things were made. But how do you come in contact with it? Because 'the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us.' For, that man might eat the bread of angels, the Creator of angels was made man."²⁰

²⁰ S. August. in Ps. cxxxiv. sec. 5.

To connect the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist with the fact of the Incarnation, was the universal practice of the ancient Church. We see it as early as St. Ignatius and Justin Martyr, in the age which directly followed the Apostles. St. Ignatius complains that the Docetæ “kept aloof from the Holy Eucharist, because they would not confess the Eucharist to be the Flesh of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins.”²¹ Justin Martyr²² founds the belief that the food which we receive in the Holy Eucharist is “not common bread and common drink,” but “the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus,” on the fact that He “has taken Flesh and Blood for our salvation.” To pass to a later, but a high authority, St. Cyril says, in the celebrated letter which introduced his anathemas, and which was sanctioned by the Council of Ephesus: “We approach the Holy Eucharist and are sanctified, by becoming partakers of the sacred Flesh, and the precious Blood of Christ, our common Saviour. Now we do this, not as though we received common flesh, God forbid. Nor yet as though that which we received belonged to a man who was sanctified, and who came in contact with the Word by oneness of excellence, or who received the Word as a divine indweller. But we receive it as truly life-giving, and as pertaining properly to the Word Himself. For as God He was naturally

²¹ Ad Smyrnæos. vi. The relation between the Incarnation and the Holy Eucharist is strikingly drawn out by St. John Damas.—*De Fide Orthod.* iv. 13, vol. i. p. 267-8.

²² Apol. i. sec. 66,

the principle of life, and since He has become one with His own Flesh, He has rendered it also life-giving."²³

Whether we regard, then, the revealed law of His nature, or the scriptural record of His acts, we see reason for supposing that the immediate operation of the Incarnate Son cannot be excluded from the Holy Eucharist. But the very same process of inquiry shows that this sacrament depends likewise upon the operation of God the Holy Ghost. So much may be deduced both from His acts and from His nature. The characteristic law of His nature has been stated to be, that He *proceeds* and

²³ *Horæ divinæ*, i. 1289. "This truth is expressed in a very striking manner by Calvin, *Institutes*, iv. xvii. 7, 8, 9. "I interpret," he says, "as St. Cyril does, the words of Christ, 'as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself.' In this passage Our Lord does not speak so much of those gifts which He had from the beginning with the Father, as of those with which He was endowed in that Flesh in which He appeared: He showed therefore that the fulness of life dwelt in His Humanity also, so that whosoever should communicate in His Flesh and Blood, would at the same time enjoy the participation of life. This may be illustrated by a familiar example. A fountain may supply water to those who drink, or those who draw, or those who would irrigate their fields; but it is not from itself that it derives such exuberance as may answer their several wants, but because the spring is furnishing a perpetual stream whereby it is ever replenished. In like manner Christ's Flesh is as it were a wealthy and exhaustless fountain, whereby that life which dwells in Deity as its source, is transfused into us. Who does not see, then, that the communion of the Flesh and Blood of Christ is necessary to all who aspire to the heavenly life? To this refer those dicta of the Apostle, that the Church is 'Christ's Body,' 'the fulness of Him that filleth all in all;' that 'He is the Head, from whom the whole body by joints and bands maketh increase, having nourishment ministered;' that our bodies are the 'members of Christ.' Now all these cannot take effect unless He is wholly united to us, both in spirit and body. Yet the Apostle goes on to draw more closely the bonds by which we are united to His Flesh, and to illustrate this truth in still more splendid terms, when he says that 'we are members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones.' In fine, that he might declare the thing to be beyond expression, he breaks forth into an exclamation: 'this is a great mystery!' It would be madness therefore to deny that the faithful have communion with the Body and Blood of Christ, when the Apostle declares it to be so intimate a communion, that he can rather wonder at than explain it."

is not begotten. He proceeds primarily²⁴ from the Father as the source of all; but inasmuch as the Son inherits from the Father all attributes of Godhead except to be self-originated, therefore He proceeds equally from the Son likewise. And being thus, as Scripture expresses it, both "the Spirit of the Father," and "the Spirit of the Son," He is the "consubstantial and co-eternal communion of them both; which, if it may be termed their friendship," says St. Augustin, "let it be so denominated; but surely it is more fitly called their love."²⁵ And by reason of this common derivation from the Father and the Son, which is the revealed law of His nature, it is characteristic of the Holy Ghost to be Himself the principle of unity and fellowship. His name is love, because "He naturally unites those from whom He proceeds."²⁶ As the Son is the wisdom of the Eternal Father, because thought is the progeny or reproduction of mind,²⁷ so is Love the nature of Him, the law of whose Being is to be the principle of alliance. And since love, when it shows itself in acts, goes by the name of goodness, therefore is He spoken of in Scripture,

²⁴ "Non dicitur verbum Dei nisi Filius, nec donum Dei nisi Spiritus Sanctus, nec de quo genitum est verbum et de quo principaliter procedit Spiritus Sanctus, nisi Deus Pater. Ideo autem addidi principaliter, quia et de Filio Spiritus Sanctus procedere reperitur. Sed hoc quoque illi Pater dedit non jam existenti, et nondum habenti, sed quicquid unigenito verbo dedit, gignendo dedit." —*S. Aug. de Trin.* xv. 29. [This passage is found in the MSS. of the *De Trinitate* of the seventh or eighth century, Bodleian, No. 1556, as well as in all the MSS. collated by the Benedictines.] Vide *S. Aug. Serm.* lxxi. 26

²⁵ *De Trin.* vi. 5.

²⁶ "Quia naturaliter eos, a quibus procedit, conjungit." —*Isidorus Hispanensis. Orig.* lib. 7.

²⁷ Vide St. Basil. Homil. xvi. 3, vol. ii. p. 136.

as well by reference to His original nature, as to His gracious operations. In reference to the first, we read that "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us:" in regard to the second we know that "according to His mercy He saved us by the . . . renewing of the Holy Ghost."

Now it is because the Holy Ghost thus proceeds as the principle of love, that He does not share that name of *Son*, which pertains to the Only-begotten of the Father. "Why is not the Holy Spirit called a Son," asks St. Augustin, "since He also proceeds from the Father? Because He proceeds, not as one who is born, but as one who is given."²⁸ From which circumstance arises this difference, that while the Eternal Son is the *resemblance* or *image* of the Father, as thought is of mind, the Holy Ghost, on the other hand, may be rather assimilated to an *effect*, which terminates in action. His nature leads us to think not of a *work* but of an *energy*.²⁹ "The Word, so soon as it is thought of, shows that it is the Son of that from which it is derived, by presenting its Father's image. But Love shows that it is not a Son, because, though it is known to proceed from the Father and the Son, yet it does not present to our view this clear likeness of that from which it has its origin."³⁰ And when we follow its course from

²⁸ De Trin. v. 14. ²⁹ Vide Summa Theologiae, i. xxvii. 4.

³⁰ S. Anselm, Monologion, cap. 55.

heaven to earth, we find its merciful operations towards mankind to be diverse from those of the Eternal Son. Man was fashioned by the Son after His own image; but the Holy Ghost moved as an informing Spirit through the shapeless chaos. It was the Son alone who took man's nature by Incarnation, and thus restored the perfect type of humanity, by becoming the new Head of mankind. But in this work did the Holy Ghost co-operate, seeing that it is His nature, as various Fathers express it, to be a "sanctifying power."³¹ So that He gave effect to the will of the Father and the Son, and was the active instrument through whose intervention that crowning act of mercy was effected. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." But in this great work He acted according to the eternal law of His nature; as an agent, not a Parent; He did not interfere with the functions of the Father or the Son; He was neither incarnate like the one, nor did He share the office of paternity with the other. The Man Christ Jesus was *created*³² by the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb. And as it was His office to

³¹ "Δύναμις ἁγιαστὶκὴ."—S. Cyril. *Thesaurus*, No. 34, *Damasc. de Fide Orth.* i. 13.

³² "Homo assumptus ex Mariâ operatio Spiritus Sancti fuit, non portio; nec ab eo genitus, sed creatus; conceptus est potentiâ non substantiâ; operatione non participatione; virtute non genere."—S. Paschasius *de Spiritu Sancto*, Lib. i. cap. ii. *Bib. Pat.* viii. 808.

co-operate in the work of the Incarnation, so likewise in that consequence of it, which is exhibited in the Holy Eucharist. For Our Lord referred to Him as the principle by whom His own merciful presence with mankind would be perpetuated. When about to bestow the gift of the Holy Ghost, as that which was to supply the place of His sensible presence, He says, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you." And therefore it would seem that the gift of the Comforter on the day of Pentecost was a necessary condition of Our Lord's approach. Till that event the Disciples continued in prayer and supplication: afterwards, the "Breaking of Bread" is put forward as the chief feature of their worship. This would be unintelligible, if the Holy Eucharist were only a *commemoration* of Christ; for when should He be so naturally remembered as just after His departure? But it follows by necessary consequence, if the act be that mysterious participation in Our Incarnate Lord, which is effected through the agency of the Holy Ghost. Thus are these two Divine Persons spoken of as coinciding in the result, though differing in the manner of their operation. "For as the virtue of Our Lord's sacred Flesh," says St. Cyril, "makes those, in whom He is, to be one body; so does the one indivisible Spirit who dwells in all, bring all to one spiritual unity."³³ Such statements do not derogate from the office of the Incar-

³³ St. Cyril in Joan. xvii. 22, lib. xi. 11, vol. iv. p. 1000.

nate Son, or supersede the truth of His Presence, any more than the Spirit's agency in the miraculous conception interferes with the truth of the Incarnation. As it was the Spirit's power by whom that work was effected, and yet it was the Eternal Son who became Incarnate, so is it God the Word who is present in the Holy Eucharist through the power of the Holy Ghost.

The truth appears to be, that as the theory which would represent the gift which is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist to be communicated in some manner irrespective of the consecrated elements, is unconnected and incompatible with the system of the Church, so the notion that the actions of the Three Blessed Persons are *successive*, and not *coincident*, is at variance with its highest mystery—the Trinity in Unity. For it is formed in reality on a Heathen, not a Christian model; and is a relic of that system of Polytheism which fell before the Economy of Grace. It was the principle of Heathenism to represent its gods as a series of successive Despots, who followed one another according to the resistless law of a sovereign fate. Not being supposed to be self-existent, nor themselves the source of all things, that plastic principle of nature which had been their cradle, might be expected to be their grave.

“οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ
 δισσοὺς τυράννοισ ἐκπεσόντας ἠσθόμην;
 τρίτονδὲ τὸν νῦν κοιρανούντ' ἐπόψομαι
 αἷσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα.”

Over this system the ancient Church gained its first victories. But the evil soon reappeared under the form of Gnosticism, within the sacred walls : the theories, against which the Fathers of the first three centuries were continually disputing, were only adaptations of the old Heathen principle, that the Heavenly Hierarchy was a reflexion of earthly incidents, and that a Cosmogony, founded on a series of material influences, would explain the various actions of its successive powers. When these mists had somewhat cleared away, the same tendency reappeared under the more subtile but not less dangerous form of Sabellianism. For it supposed that the characteristics of the Supreme Being were derived only from His actings towards mankind, and thus denied the primary law of the Christian system, that the principle of all things lies in God ; that the relations of His infinite nature are independent of all created existence, and have their deep and awful origin in Himself. And this follows at once from the thought that the Ultimate Cause is a person, not a law—God, and not Fate—so that whatever belongs to the personal completeness of His nature, must arise out of the original constitution of His Being, and like it, be self-dependent and archetypal.

When it is revealed to us, then, that the Wisdom and Love of the Supreme Being are identical with His Existence,³⁴ or in other words, that God is

³⁴ "In us," says St. Thomas, "existence and intelligence are not identical.

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—the Father eternally self-existent—His Word the eternal Image of Himself—the Holy Ghost the Spirit which proceeds eternally from both—this is not a circumstance which arises from their relations to mankind; it is dependent upon those eternal laws of their mysterious nature, which admit of no alteration. We must not dream of it merely as a transaction which took place so early as to be antecedent to memory: it was not only *before* all time but *independent* of it. It was not that Deity once existed alone, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost afterwards came into being—the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity are “co-eternal together and co-equal.” To exist in Three Persons is the eternal law of Deity; a law as characteristic of its nature as to be wise and good. So that the Father is ever Father, the Son ever Son, the Holy Ghost ever proceeding from both. The present

So that those ideas which exist in us through our intelligence, are no part of our nature. But God's intelligence is identical with His existence. And therefore His Word is no accident arising from Him, or effect produced by Him, but belongs to His nature, and has a subsistence of its own; for whatever belongs to the nature of God exists in itself.”—*Summa Theol.* i. xxxiv. 2. This accords with a statement of St. Augustin: Deo “non est alia substantia ut sit, et alia potestas ut possit, sed *consubstantiale illi est quicquid ejus est.*”—*In Joan.* Tract. xx. 4. If it should be objected that this might be a ground for personifying other Divine attributes as well as Wisdom and Love, it may be answered that we have no authority for doing so in Scripture, neither has it been so understood by the Church. St. Thomas adds the profound thought; “in the Deity there is no procession, except in respect to those actions which do not tend to anything external, but rest in the actor Himself. And this sort of action in an intellectual being is of two kinds, the action of the understanding, and the action of the will.”—*Summa*, i. xxvii. 3. And again, “Processiones in divinis accipi non possunt nisi secundum actiones, quæ in agente manent. Hujusmodi autem actiones in naturâ intellectuali et divinâ non sunt nisi duæ, scilicet intelligere et velle.”—*Id.* i. xxvii. 5. Vide also *Estius in Libros Sententiarum.* In Lib. i. Dis. x. 2.

moment has the same relation to this wonderful mystery, as any moment which can be fixed upon in the abyss of eternity. So that it were an impious thought, says St. Cyril, to suppose "that the Father has ever ceased from generation,"³⁵ for this would be to ascribe change to a nature which is unchangeable, to suppose that it generates at one time and does not generate at another. And in like manner the Procession of the Holy Ghost is not a passing event, which took place at some particular moment, but expresses that abiding relation which He bears to the Father and the Son. This relation has its effect in those acts whereby the Holy Ghost co-operates with the Son in the work of man's redemption. "He shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you." So that the Mission of the Holy Ghost, whereby He co-operates in the economy of grace, is not any peculiar and detached exercise of His divine functions: it is a part of that general ministration in the world of time, whereby He gives effect to the will of the whole Blessed Trinity. He co-operates in the actions of the Son, because He perpetually proceeds from Him. For "the Holy Ghost is manifestly shown not to be of different nature from the Son, but is in Him and of Him, and, as it were, His natural efficacy, which is able to perform all He desires."³⁶ And again, "the Holy Ghost is a sort of natural and living

³⁵ Thesaurus, sec. 5, vol. v. part i. p. 35, 37.

³⁶ St. Cyril in Petavius de Trin. vii. 5, 12.

efficacy, and, as it were, a quality of the Godhead of the Son."³⁷ So that the acts and presence of the one imply, and do not exclude, those of the other. And thus does the whole Blessed Trinity combine in the merciful work of man's salvation. Its ultimate principle is the love of the Everlasting Father. It is carried into effect through the merciful condescension of the Eternal Son, who has exalted manhood by taking it into God. In this process is the Holy Ghost the quickening Agent. So He was when the Son took the nature of man; so He is when men participate in that new nature, which the Son has bestowed upon manhood. "In the sacrament of our Incarnation," says St. Fulgentius, "the Son is said to have been sent not only by the Father, but also by the Holy Ghost, because the Man Christ Jesus, the Mediator between God and men, was formed by the operation of the whole Trinity. But in another sense the Holy Ghost is sent from the Father and the Son, because by nature He proceeds from the Father and the Son. For the Holy Ghost is sent from the Father and the Son, when the spiritual efficacy of grace is given by the One God in Trinity."³⁸ Thus does this wondrous work of love imply the action of the whole Godhead, and of every Person, without contrariety or interfe-

³⁷ Id. Thesaurus, sec. 34, vol. v. part i. p. 355, and vide 346. "His Spirit is inseparable from the Son by reason of the unity of nature, although He exists as a separate Person."—*Id. on S. John*, vi. 64, vol. iv. p. 378.

³⁸ Fragment of eighth Book against Fabianus.

rence.³⁹ And as the functions of the Incarnate Son were not excluded, when the Holy Ghost was the medium of His material birth, so neither when the same Spirit is the author of His Sacramental presence.

II. It remains to show, in the second place, that the general principles which have been laid down, are confirmed by the testimony of the ancient Church. Now, whether we look to the public services, or to individual writers, it will be found that they all agree in attributing this consentient action to the Second and Third Persons in the glorious Trinity. For the two following principles were universally accepted: first, that whatever was the mode of presence in the Holy Eucharist, the Body present was that glorified Body of Christ, which had been born of the Virgin and had suffered on the cross; and that it was present as a consequence of the Incarnation, and by virtue of His own gracious will: secondly, that the Holy Ghost was an agent in the effecting of this presence. The first is witnessed by the importance attached in all ancient Liturgies to the exact repetition of the words of Institution. Thus was Our Lord Himself supposed to be the real actor in the celebration of this Sacrament, and the officiating Priest only to speak in His name. And repeated allusions may be found to the belief, that the Body bestowed was the real Body of Christ. Indeed,

³⁹ "Non tantum Patris et Filii, sed Spiritus Sancti, sicut aequalitas et inseparabilitas personarum, ita etiam opera inseparabilia sunt."—*S. Aug. in Joham.* Tract. xx. 3.

whether Our Lord be conceived to be present really, or only in figure, we have no authority for supposing that His Body can mean anything except His Body natural, which was crucified, and His Body mystical the Church. St. Ignatius's assertion that the Docetæ would not confess that the Holy Eucharist was the "Flesh of Our Saviour Christ which suffered for our sins,"⁴⁰ plainly looks to the former. So does St. Ambrose's statement: "this Body which we form was born of the Virgin:"⁴¹ and St. Chrysostom's on the Ephesians, "we taste of that Body that sitteth above, that is adored by angels, that is next to the Power that is incorruptible."⁴² And again: "He who sits on high with the Father is held at that moment in the hands of all men."⁴³

In no way, however, is this truth more strongly brought out, than when the reality of the Eucharistic blessing is grounded upon the truth of Our Lord's participation in our nature, so that the gift in this Sacrament is connected with that of the Incarnation. "If the Word was truly made Flesh," says St. Hilary, "and we truly receive the Word, who is made Flesh, in the food of Our Lord's Body (*cibo dominico*), how can men say that *He* does not naturally remain in us, who by being born as a man, has now assumed the

⁴⁰ Vide Supra, p. 324.

⁴¹ "Et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex Virgine est."—*De Mysteriis*, ix. 53.

⁴² Hom. iii. on I. Ephes. 15-20. Oxford Tran. vol. vi. p. 130.

⁴³ De Sacerdotio, iii. 4. Vide also on I. Cor. Hom. xxiv. 4.

nature of a man, as inseparable from Himself. . . . That which we affirm about the natural verity of Christ in us, unless we had learnt it from Him, would be a foolish and impious assertion. For He Himself says, 'My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed. He who eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him.' There is no room left to doubt the truth of His Body and Blood."⁴⁴ And so St. Cyril: "Because the Word which proceeds from the Father is naturally life, He hath made His own Flesh life-giving. In this way has the Eucharist become life-giving. Therefore Christ said, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the bread of life, which came down from heaven, and give life to the world.' And again: 'the bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.' And again: 'he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him.' Observe, then, that He everywhere speaks of that Body of His, which was born of a woman, on account of His perfect oneness."⁴⁵

These passages, like the Liturgic usages of the Church, show a full belief that the blessing of the Holy Eucharist is to be attributed to Our Lord's own power and presence. But not less distinct are the statements that the Holy Ghost is an agent in this mysterious transaction. St. Cyril couples

⁴⁴ S. Hilarii de Trinitate, viii. 13, 14.

⁴⁵ S. Cyril, Apolog. adv. Orientales, vol. vi. p. 192. Vide also S. Aug. on Psalm xxxiii. Enar. i. 6.

the action of the Word and of the Holy Ghost together, in a passage a little subsequent to that last cited. "Because we cannot eat the nature of Deity, we ought not therefore to suppose that the sacred Body of Christ is common food. We ought to know that it is the very Body of the Word which quickeneth all things. And since it is the Body of that which is Life, it is itself life-giving. And therefore does it give life to our mortal bodies, and destroys the power of death. And in like manner does the Holy Spirit of Christ also quicken us. For it is the Spirit that quickeneth, according to Our Saviour's own words."⁴⁶

But nowhere is the action of the Blessed Spirit in the Holy Eucharist so plainly declared, as in the Liturgies of the Church. All ancient Liturgies, with the single exception of the Roman, invoke His merciful intervention, and represent Him as an agent in the consecration of the elements. "Send upon us, and upon these proposed gifts, Thy most Holy Ghost, the Lord and life-giving; . . . that coming upon them with His holy, and good, and glorious presence, He may hallow and may make this bread the holy Body of Thy Christ, and this Cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, that they may be to those who partake of them for remission of sins, and for eternal life; for sanctification of soul and body, for bringing forth good works."⁴⁷ This is a sample of the expressions which are to

⁴⁶ Id. p. 194.

⁴⁷ St. James's Liturgy, Neale's Introd. p. 571.

be found in every ancient Liturgy, except that of Rome. Their absence in this single instance is remarkable; but the earliest forms, under which the Roman Missal appears, present exactly the same phenomenon. It cannot be doubted, however, that the early Roman Church had the same belief which everywhere existed respecting the agency of God the Holy Ghost in this transaction; and in one of the collects of St. Leo's Office, "The virtue of the Holy Ghost"⁴⁸ is especially referred to, as the sanctifying principle of the Holy Eucharist. And in the ancient canon, used in the time of Gelasius, there occurs a prayer entreating God to look favourably upon the offering, and to accept⁴⁹ it, which is equivalent in effect to the direct invocations of the Holy Ghost in the other Liturgies. For it is through the agency of the Holy Ghost, that the Eternal Father especially bestows His blessings. It is possible that the circumstance which led to the omission of all explicit mention of the Holy Ghost, may have been the same which accounts for the conciseness of the ancient Roman Creed. The absence of prevalent heresies, says Rufinus in the fourth century, had enabled it to dispense with various statements which were found necessary in other Churches.⁵⁰ The disposition to

⁴⁸ "Sancti Spiritus operante virtute, sacrificium jam nostrum Corpus et Sanguis est ipsius sacerdotis."—*Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. i. p. 469.

⁴⁹ "Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta referre." &c.—*Muratori, Id.* p. 697.

⁵⁰ After mentioning that additions had been made to the Creed in other Churches, he says, "In ecclesia tamen Urbis Romæ hoc non deprehenditur factum. Quod ego propterea esse arbitror, quod neque hæresis ulla illie

deny the Deity of the Holy Ghost, which prevailed so largely in the East, may in like manner have suggested those direct invocations which occur in the Eastern Liturgies, or in such as are derived from them. The prevalent heresy on this subject was to assert that as the Father had created the Son, so did the Son in His turn create the Holy Ghost.⁵¹ He was looked upon, therefore, as the Agent of the Son by arbitrary commission, not as proceeding from Him by natural right. This heresy was immediately confronted by the statement, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from, and was consubstantial with, the Eternal Father. It did not follow from this assertion that the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Son also; but only that His procession from the Son must likewise be by necessary derivation, and not by arbitrary appointment. And yet their anxiety to maintain, that the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity was truly consubstantial with the Eternal Father, may have rendered the Eastern Churches at once less full in their expression of the Double Procession, and more explicit in asserting the intervention of the Holy Ghost in the Holy Eucharist.

This difference between the Roman and Eastern Liturgies was little noticed till the Council of

sumpsit exordium, &c. . . . In cæteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, propter nonnullos hæreticos addita quidem videntur per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi."

⁵¹ This was varied by the statement mentioned by St. Athanasius: "Si Spiritus Sanctus non sit creatura—avus est Pater et nepos ejus est Spiritus."—*Epis. iv. ad Serapion*, sec. i. vol. i. part ii. p. 697.

Florence. Nor was it the Greeks who complained of any deficiency in the Roman Ritual; but the Latins, who objected that to introduce a subsequent invocation for the sanctification of the elements, implied that the repetition of the words of Institution was not an adequate consecration. Such was the objection made by Turrecremata at Florence, but to which Pope Eugenius and the Council refused to pay attention. The Greeks stood upon the ground that such had been always their usage, without denying the validity of the Latin custom. But various theories have been since advanced by the Latin writers, who, admitting the undoubted antiquity of the Greek usage, have thought it essential to show that the Invocation was not a substantive part of the consecration, inasmuch as consecration must have been previously effected by the words of Institution. Some have maintained that the Invocation should precede the words of Institution, and that it has only a prospective force: but in point of fact it is found to occur subsequently in ancient Liturgies. Others have affirmed the Invocation not to refer to the elements, but to the receiver,⁵² and to be equivalent to a prayer that he may receive profitably. But this is inconsistent with the expressions employed, which refer directly to the consecration, and in several cases to the change of the *elements* themselves. "Send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us,

⁵² This is argued by De Lugo de Eucharistia.—*Disp.* xi. sec. 1.

and on these proposed gifts ; . . . make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, . . . and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, . . . changing them by Thy Holy Ghost."⁵³

The difficulty before us, then, arises out of the fact that our conceptions on this subject are derived in great measure from the practices of the early Church ; and that in this case the usages of the two great branches of the Church were different. It may somewhat abate, perhaps, if it does not altogether remove, our perplexity, to consider that we have to do with the operations of the Eternal Persons of the Ever-blessed Trinity, whose actions, therefore, are in themselves independent of time ; though in time only can we think and speak of them. So that this is a case to which we can apply the rule of Aquinas, "*plus Deus valet operari, quam homo intelligere potest.*" The succession, which attaches to our view of their actions, has no place in reference to those actions themselves. And so completely does each co-operate in that which either performs, that we cannot exclude the Holy Ghost from that action which is performed by the Son through the medium of His Priests, nor yet the Son from that which is effected by the Holy Ghost who proceeds from Him. So that it would be rash perhaps to define

⁵³ St. Chrysostom's Liturgy : Goar's Euchologion, p. 77. Neale's Introduction, p. 578.

at what moment the act of consecration is effected, while yet it is reverent to treat it as effected, when the first essential portion of it is performed. Again, it may be said that since Our Lord's Presence in this Holy ordinance is not of a natural or carnal character, the continual agency of the Spirit is no doubt required to perpetuate that operation, on which Christ's Presence is dependent. As we daily ask God, therefore, to send down His "mercy and truth," without meaning that similar prayers may not have been already heard, so we may invoke the power of the Spirit for the *maintenance* of that presence, which is already bestowed. So that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost may be designed to imply, that the continuance of Our Lord's Presence is a supernatural action momentarily renewed.

That which is clear, however, is, that the use of these two separate conditions in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist, is founded upon a reference to the intervention of the Second, as well as of the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity, in this mysterious work ; and that the work is attributed to their joint operation. Each is supposed to act according to His peculiar function in the great Economy of man's redemption : the Holy Ghost as having been the agent in the work of the Incarnation ; the Son as having Himself become Incarnate. The same authorities, therefore, who refer the consecration to the Holy Ghost, consider it to be effected by Our Lord's words of Institution.

St. Chrysostom,⁵⁴ whose Liturgy so plainly expresses the one, speaks as distinctly in his Homilies respecting the other. St. Augustin⁵⁵ attributes it with equal distinctness to the one and to the other. And for this diversity the ancient writers found a parallel in that great work on which it was dependent. For the Incarnation itself is attributed in Holy Scripture to the one of these Divine Persons as directly as to the other.⁵⁶ God the Son "made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant." Thus did "wisdom build itself a house" out of the materials of man's nature. And yet the angel declared, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." "When," says St. Fulgentius, "can the holy Church more fitly entreat the advent of the Holy Ghost, than when she invokes it to consecrate the sacrifice of Christ's Body, seeing she knows that it was from the Holy Ghost that her Head Himself received His Incarnate nature."⁵⁷ For thus is it revealed to us as part of the mystery of the Ever-

⁵⁴ St. Chrys. In Matth. Hom. lxxxii. sec. 5, vol. vii. p. 789. Id. in II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. i. Hom. ii. sec. 4, vol. xi. p. 671. Vide also Hom. i. de Proditione Judæ. 6. vol. ii. p. 384, and Ib. ii. 6. p. 394. Nilus, a disciple of St. Chrysostom, refers the consecration in a remarkable passage to the Invocation and the Descent of the Holy Ghost.—*Ep.* xlv.

⁵⁵ "Panis ille, quem videtis in altari, sanctificatus per verbum Dei, corpus est Christi; calix ille, immo quod habet calix, sanctificatum per verbum Dei, sanguis est Christi."—*Sermo* cccxvii. So in *Sermo* iii. and vi. of *Sermones S. Aug. inediti*, ed. Denis. 1792: "Hoc quod videtis in mensa domini, panis est et vinum, sed iste panis et hoc vinum accedente verbo fit corpus et sanguis Verbi." But in his work *De Trinitate*, St. Augustin refers the consecration of the elements to the Holy Ghost. "Non sanctificatur ut sit tum magnum sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter spiritu Dei."—*De Trinitate*, iii. 10. Vide also *S. Anselm. Oratio*. 29.

⁵⁶ Vide St. Cyril in Joan. lib. iv. 3. vol. iv. p. 366.

⁵⁷ Ad Monimum, lib. ii. cap. 10. Bib. Pat. vol. ix. p. 29.

blessed Trinity, that by reason of the coinherence of the Divine Three, no function can be discharged by one Person in the glorious Godhead, in which each does not take part according to His appointed order and law. And hence results no confusion nor interference in their merciful offices ; neither can succession have place in essences which perpetually co-operate ; nor can the conditions of time restrict the operations of the Eternal.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST REGARDED AS A SACRIFICE.

It has been stated, first, that the characteristic circumstance in the Holy Eucharist is the consecration of the elements; secondly, that the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist is Christ Himself; thirdly, in what manner Christ is present. Again, that He is not only supernaturally and sacramentally, but really present, has been proved by the authority of Holy Scripture, and by the testimony of the early Church. It remains to notice a particular of great importance, which grows out of the truth of Christ's *real* Presence, *i. e.*, that the Holy Eucharist is a *sacrifice* as well as a *sacrament*. This fact is a corroboration of the reality of Christ's Presence, as showing one purpose which His Presence is ordained to answer in the economy of grace; while it will be found to have its own origin in the principle which it illustrates.

It was laid down as the characteristic of sacraments, that they consist of an external sign, and of

an inward reality. In the Holy Eucharist this inward reality is the Body and Blood of Christ. Let the Presence of this inward part be admitted, and it is obvious that there is something in the sacrament which we can present to God. Whereas, if the Zuinglian hypothesis be adopted, there is nothing to offer in the Holy Eucharist; since it consists of nothing but an empty sign, which cannot seriously be looked upon as a becoming offering. And the same may be said of the Calvinistic system also, since it detaches the inward reality from the outward sign, and supposes that the last only is really present in the Holy Eucharist. So that neither of these systems afford a substratum for the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice: it can only ally itself with a system which supposes that the Holy Eucharist consists of a *res sacramenti* as well as a *sacramentum*; it needs the doctrine of the *Real Presence* as the basis on which it is to be built; while, again, nothing more strongly illustrates the reality of this Presence, than the importance which has uniformly been ascribed to the Eucharistic Sacrifice by the Church.

But why has so much importance been attached to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and what right have we to speak of it under this name? These two points shall be considered in their order.

The importance of the Eucharistic Sacrifice depends upon the fact that our acceptance is owing exclusively to the merits of Christ, and

that His Mediation extends to all the relations between the Almighty and His redeemed creatures. Being the "One Mediator between God and men," He not only merits pardon, but applies it. The acceptance which He has purchased, has sometimes been spoken of as though it were a store, out of which men might help themselves by their voluntary efforts: but this is to pervert His work, and to undervalue His office: He must Himself become "our peace;" the purpose of the Almighty is "to gather together in one all things in Christ." And for this purpose He must act on man's behalf towards God, as well as on God's part towards His creatures; it is through Him alone that "we have access with confidence" to God; He is our "great High Priest," and we have "boldness to enter into the holiest," through that "new and living way which He hath consecrated for us through the veil, that is, His Flesh." Now it is in the ordinances of His Church that this right of access has been bestowed upon mankind; "He is the Saviour of the Body;" all private addresses are rendered acceptable through those public relations which bind men to the Body of Christ: thus do they become "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." So that the acceptance which Christ has purchased by His death, is rendered available through all those acts of public service, whereby He puts men into relation with God; and of these acts the Holy Eucharist is the chief—because it is the

crown of public worship; the bond, whereby men are attached to Christ; the focus, in which all Church ordinances culminate.

But allowing that the Eucharistic service is important, because admitted to be the chief act of Christian worship, yet why is it called the Christian sacrifice? If the term is only applied in a general and metaphorical manner, every act of worship may be styled a sacrifice? If it be used with more reality and exactness, how does its employment consist with those statements of Scripture, which exclude all true sacrifices, except the offering of Christ? Now what is meant in Scripture by an offering or sacrifice? In a strict sense it is something brought before God, and presented to Him with a view of obtaining His favour. This is the etymological sense of the word *offering*; and *sacrifice*, which is often used as its equivalent, involves, in common, the further idea of the slaughter of that which is offered. Now, in this full sense, there is no other sacrifice or offering which can be brought before God, except that Body¹ of Jesus Christ Our Lord, with which He paid the price of our salvation. This true victim complied with every condition by which a sacrifice is characterized, that it might be presented before God as the perpetual ground of man's acceptance. "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands,

¹ "Manus sacerdotum nostrorum vacuæ essent, si non illas veneranda illa, et sancta oblatio vivifici corporis et sanguinis impleret."—*Guliel. Paris. De Sac. Euch.* cap. v. p. 427.

which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." For it was not only in the moment of His death that Our Lord's Body was the sacrifice for man: the shedding of His Blood was the consecration of the victim; but the victim itself was set apart as the undying propitiation for sinners. So is it described by St. John, who beheld a "Lamb as it had been slain," in the heavenly courts: so is it explained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where we read that Christ has "offered one *perpetual* sacrifice for sins."²

If the Holy Eucharist, therefore, is to be called in any peculiar manner the Christian Sacrifice, it can only be by reference to that one perfect propitiation upon the cross, by virtue of which we have in heaven an abiding sacrifice. And hence it is, that the Holy Eucharist is discriminated from all other acts of common worship. For it is by this service only that the real intercession which is transacted in the Church's higher courts, is identified with the worship of its earthly members. If it were the *sacramentum* only, or external sign, which was presented before God in this service, it could have no greater value than pertains to the corruptible productions of this lower world: but since it is also the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified, it is *that very sacrifice* which Our Lord has rendered perfect by the taking it into Godhead, and

² Hebrews, x. 12. θυσίαν εἰς τὸ διηνεχές.

available by offering it upon the cross. And again, if this oblation were presented merely by an earthly priest, we might doubt whether his own sins did not impede his actions, but it is the peculiarity of this service, that those who minister it here below are only representatives of Him by whom it is truly offered: *He* speaks through their voice; they act by *His* power: so that the Church's offering finds a fitting minister in that Great High Priest, who sacrifices in heaven. The Holy Eucharist, therefore, is fitly called the Christian Sacrifice, not only because it is the chief rite of common worship, but because it is the peculiar act, wherein the effectual intercession which is exercised in heaven by the Church's Head, reaches down to this lower sphere of our earthly service. It is no repetition of the sacrifice of the cross, nor any substitution of another victim, "for although once for all offered, that sacrifice, be it remembered, is ever living and continuous—made to be continuous by the resurrection of Our Lord."³ When those who have been admitted to the fruition of the Divine Presence fall down before Him that sitteth upon the throne, it is still "the Lamb that was slain," to whose virtue they ascribe their acceptance; and "to Him His Church on earth in the Eucharistic service, in like manner, continually cries, 'O Lord God, *Lamb of God*, Son of the Father that *takest* away the sins of the world.' Not that *tookest* away,

³ A Pastoral letter, by Henry, Bishop of Exeter, 1851, p. 54.

but still takest; ‘*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi.*’”⁴ “Let us weigh well,” says St. Gregory, “how valuable to us is this sacrifice, whereby the passion of the only-begotten Son is perpetually imitated for our acquittal. For what faithful man can doubt that, at the very moment when it is offered, at the priest’s voice the heavens are opened—that the angelic choirs are attendant on that mystery of Jesus Christ—that things above and things below, things in heaven and things on earth, are united, and that the visible is identified with the invisible.”⁵

Such is the principle upon which the Holy Eucharist is called a sacrifice. It rests upon the necessity of Our Lord’s Intercession: upon the truth that the Church’s services cannot be effectual, unless they are presented by its Head: that His intervention is essential, not only because He communicates grace to His members, but because His members cannot be accepted save through the sacrifice of Himself. Now that acceptance, which He purchased through the sacrifice of the cross, He applies through the sacrifice of the Altar. “Therefore this is no new sacrifice,” says Bishop Cosin, “but the same which was once offered, and which is every day offered to God by Christ in heaven, and continueth here still on earth, by a mystical representation of it in the Eucharist. And the

⁴ A Pastoral letter, by Henry, Bishop of Exeter, 1851, p. 54.

⁵ Gregorii Magni Dialog. Lib. iv. c. 58.

Church intends not to have any new propitiation, or new remission of sins obtained; but to make that effectual, and in act applied unto us, which was once obtained by the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. Neither is the sacrifice of the cross, as it was once offered up there, *modo cruento*, so much remembered in the Eucharist, though it be commemorated, as regard is had to the perpetual and daily offering of it by Christ now in heaven in His everlasting Priesthood; and thereupon was, and should be still, the *juge sacrificium* observed here on earth, as it is in heaven, the reason which the ancient Fathers had for their daily sacrifice."—*St. Chrys. in 10 Heb. . . St. Aug. de Civ. Dei. x. 20.*⁶

For this view of Our Lord's office towards His Church, we have the authority of Holy Scripture. For we read that Our Lord is "a minister of the sanctuary," because He is "consecrated for evermore" to "an unchangeable priesthood." Now a priesthood implies a sacrifice. Unless there be a sacrifice to offer up, how can there be a minister to offer it? What, then, is the nature of Our Lord's Priesthood? He is a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek. Now we learn from Holy Scripture what was the nature of Melchisedek's sacrifice.⁷ He "brought forth bread and wine, and he was the priest of the Most High God." And we know

⁶ Nicholls's Add. Notes to the Common Prayer, p. 46. He refers to Bishop Overall, but the original is in the handwriting of Bishop Cosin, and appears to be a quotation in part from Cassander's Consultatio.

⁷ "Ibi primum apparuit sacrificium, quod nunc a Christianis offertur Deo toto orbe terrarum."—*S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. xvi. 22.*

when Our Lord was consecrated to the like office: in that momentous night when the last Passover marked the close of the ancient Dispensation. Then did the true Melchisedek bring forth bread and wine: but we may not suppose that these were the *realities* which He offered: they were but the *sacramentum* or external sign—the real offering was the thing signified. He had Himself predicted the nature of the sacrifice: “the bread that I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.” And therefore when the moment was come, at which the course of Aaron was to give place to the course of Melchisedek; “He took bread and gave thanks, and brake it and gave unto them, saying, This is My Body which *is given* for you: this do in remembrance of Me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in My Blood, which *is shed* for you.”

It was thus that Our Lord initiated that Priesthood of Melchisedek, which His Apostles were ordained to perpetuate. For “as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till He come.” The offering of Himself in the chamber had been a step in that sacrificial work, which was consummated upon the Cross by the hands of others: the offering in the Holy Eucharist is performed by the hands of His ministers, but its mystical efficacy is perpetually consummated by Himself. Thus is that sacrifice ef-

fects which was predicted as the service of the Gentile Church: "in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering." Incense, as we read in the Book of Revelation, is the type of Prayer, and the parity of expression compels us to suppose that the pure offering must have its antitype also. Now what can this be, but that *res sacramenti*, or reality, of which the bread in the Holy Eucharist is the channel and type? The "Breaking of Bread," therefore, was joined with prayer in the daily ritual of the first disciples, and this probably was the Liturgy which was celebrated at Antioch, when St. Paul was called to the office of an Apostle. Now, wherein would this service have been superior to the Jewish meat-offerings, unless it had been the reality, of which the ancient sacrifices were a typical representation? Yet such is the view always taken by the Apostles respecting the relation between the Jewish law and the Christian ritual: they represent the law as the shadow, which had its reality in that "perpetual sacrifice for sins," "the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all."⁸ And in this comparison the Eucharistic sacrifice is represented as bearing its part. St. Paul contrasts the Christian Eucharist as well with the sacrifices of the Jewish Law, as with the sacrificial rites of the heathen. He not only says, "ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils;" but

⁸ Heb. x. 10, 12.

“behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?” So that he parallels the daily offerings of the Law with the Church’s perpetual celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

Yet the arrangements of the Jewish Law have sometimes been adduced as furnishing an argument against the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In the Law there were two main offerings; the offering of fine flour, and that of animals. The former of these, it is said, was a simple expression of thanks: the work of expiation was confined to the latter. Now, since the Holy Eucharist has been formed out of the meat-offering, or offering of flour, it can be nothing but a testimony of thanks; the sin-offering can find its antitype only in that oblation of Himself upon the cross, whereby Our Lord paid the price of our redemption. Such is the objection: it shall be shown in reply, first, that it is incorrect to say that the offering of flour was limited to the expression of thanks; secondly, that there is direct Scriptural authority for asserting the Holy Eucharist to correspond to the Jewish sin-offering.

First—The offering of flour was so far from being limited to the expression of thanks, that in all probability it was the most common form in which the sin-offering was presented. For the poor always outnumber the rich; now it was ordered that when a man’s means did not enable him to provide an animal, “then he that sinned

shall bring for his offering the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin-offering.”⁹ It is incorrect, then, to say that the sacrifice of Melchisedek must, from its very constitution, have shown the Jews that it was not a sin-offering.

Secondly—But is there any Scriptural testimony that it *was* a sin-offering? Such a statement we should expect, if anywhere, in that portion of Holy Scripture, in which the Christian Jews, upon their exclusion from the Temple, were taught that all its rites had their accomplishment in Christ. Such was the purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews—a purpose which distinguishes it from the Epistles to Heathen converts at Rome or in Galatia. To these last St. Paul wished to prove that it was needless to conform to the Jewish Law, because the sole means of acceptance with God lay through the Faith of Christ. He had no occasion, therefore, to enter into the details of the Jewish Law, because his object was to show that the death of Christ rendered the whole of it superfluous.

And yet St. Paul himself, as well as his Christian countrymen, continued to observe their ancient customs; and we read that they were “all zealous of the law.” Neither was its abandonment their own act, but was forced upon them by their unconverted countrymen. To console them for this deprivation was the purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its whole tenor shows that it was ad-

⁹ Leviticus, v. 11.

dressed to those who were just excluded from the home, which had hitherto been provided for them by their national ritual; and were thus compelled either to abandon Christ, or to "go forth unto Him without the camp, bearing His reproach." And now, therefore, we find a special enumeration of the particulars of Jewish service, and a proof that all of them had their accomplishment in the Christian Covenant. And we find them summed up by reference to that new *communion*, which was to compensate for exclusion from the continual sacrifices of the ancient Temple. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the Tabernacle." Though this passage was supposed in early times, as its terms would naturally imply, to refer to the Holy Eucharist, yet it has since received other interpretations. The altar has been supposed to mean exclusively Our Lord's Cross, or His Intercession in heaven, and not to include that earthly service, whereby men participate in the offering which was consummated by Our Lord's death, and which is perpetuated by His continual intercession. But this explanation is inconsistent with the passage itself, as well as with the ancient interpreters. Those "who serve the Tabernacle" may be thought to mean all Jews; though the words express more properly all Jewish priests. Now it would have been inconsistent with the principles of this Epistle to say abstractedly of all such persons, that they could

not profit by the death of Christ. Till that very period Christians had continued to participate in Jewish rites, and even to act as priests; neither was there as yet any law of the Church,¹⁰ which precluded them from reassuming such functions, supposing opportunity should be afforded them. How, then, could it be affirmed in general that those who were Jews could have no hope in Christ, without the addition of some reason for the sentence, or without some limitation of it to those who abandoned the Gospel?

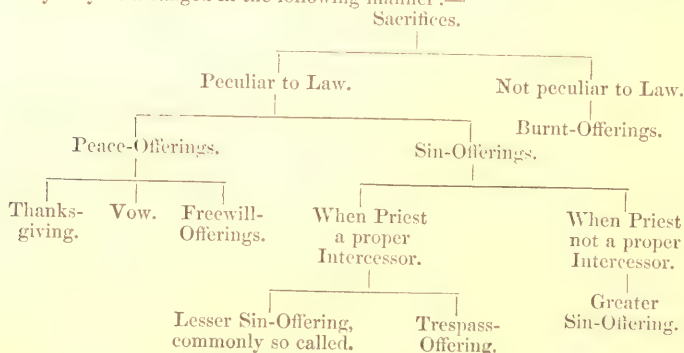
Instead, however, of the introduction of any such limitation, we find a reason assigned, which is not based upon the necessity, so recently imposed, of choosing between the Old and the New Covenant, but upon certain peculiarities in the ancient Jewish worship. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the Tabernacle. *For* the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the Sanctuary by the high-priest for sin, are burned without the camp." If this passage had meant nothing more than the obvious truth, that men could not claim to profit by Christ's actions, unless they were members of His Church, why should the ground of exclusion be sought among the specialties of the elder Covenant? The argument plainly is that the sacrifice, by which the Christian altar was foreshadowed,

¹⁰ At a later period the Church adjudged such conformity to the Jewish Law not only to be superfluous, but criminal: "*paulatim ferveat sancta predicatione gratia Christi*,"—*S. Aug. Ep. lxxxiii. 15.*

was one which might not be eaten, *according to Jewish usage*, by those who served the Tabernacle. So that the case referred to cannot be determined without reference to Jewish observances. And it will be found to depend upon a distinction which has often been overlooked, between the two kinds of sin-offering.

The Jewish sacrifices resolve themselves into two main divisions:¹¹ on the one hand, the Burnt-Offerings, which were the expression of piety at large, and were borrowed from Patriarchal usage; on the other, those specific rites, which were first enjoined through Moses. These last were of two kinds, Peace-Offerings and Sin-Offerings. Under the first of them may be classed thank-offerings, vows, and free-will-offerings. The other—Sin-Offerings—have commonly been dealt with as if they were homogeneous; but they may be divided into two classes, of which the first was that in

¹¹ The Legal Sacrifices, considered according to their *material*, consisted of animals, meat, wine, and incense: considered according to their *form*, they may be arranged in the following manner:—



which the priest acted as a proper intercessor,¹² and in which the blood of the victim was smeared or sprinkled upon the altar of burnt-offerings. The Sin-Offerings of this first sort were almost identical with the Trespass-Offerings—perhaps the Sin-Offering may have referred rather to the religious, the Trespass-Offering¹³ to the civil aspect of offences. The other class of sin-offerings¹⁴ was that in which the priest could not act as a proper intercessor,¹⁵ because he participated himself in the guilt for which it was offered. This might either be because the offering was for the whole nation,¹⁶ or because it was specifically for himself.¹⁷ In this case the blood was brought into the sanctuary, and smeared¹⁸ upon the horns of the altar of incense, or sprinkled¹⁹ towards the mercy-seat, either within or without the veil; while the bodies of the victims

¹² Lev. iv. 22-35; v. 9.

¹³ One condition of the Trespass-Offering, noticed by Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, lib. iii. 9), is its reference to cases, in which persons were self-accused. (Vide *Lev.* v. 5.) But this principle is not confined to it exclusively (vide *Lev.* iv. 23), nor does it seem to have any characteristic application in every instance. (*Lev.* xix. 21.) It would appear, therefore, that the characteristic circumstance in the Trespass-Offerings was that amends were to be made, either to God or man (vide *Numbers* v. 7, 8), while in the Sin-Offering nothing was contemplated but the restoration of the Offerer to the privileges of worship.

¹⁴ These two classes of sin-offerings were distinguished by the Rabbins as the *outer* and *inner* Sin-offerings, in allusion to the two altars on which the blood was sprinkled.—*Tholuck on Hebrews*, xiii. 11.

¹⁵ Leviticus, iv. 3-12; ix. 7.

¹⁶ Leviticus, xvi. 15, 16. Hebrews, vii. 27.

¹⁷ Leviticus, xvi. 6.

¹⁸ Leviticus, iv. 7, 18; xvi. 18. But Leviticus, ix. 9, seems to be a case in which the blood was not taken into the sanctuary. The reason may be that Aaron had not yet entered upon his office: he was now to make atonement for himself before he began to make atonement for the people; ix. 7. So that it was preliminary to his entrance into the sanctuary; ix. 23. This case, therefore, resembles the sacrifice of Consecration offered by Moses, in which no mention is made that the blood was brought within the sanctuary. Exodus, xxix. 12. Leviticus, viii. 15.

¹⁹ Leviticus, xvi. 14; iv. 6, 17; xvi. 19.

were not, as in the other case, to be eaten by the priest, but to be burnt without the camp. The ground of this distinction is to be found in the fact, that it was the eating of the victim which testified to the mediatorial character of the priest who offered it: the law of the inferior sin-offering was, "the priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it;"²⁰ "God hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord."²¹ When, therefore, a victim was offered, of which the priest might not eat, and still more, when the body of this victim was to be burnt without the Jewish camp, it was implied that the plenary blessing was to be looked for through a higher intercessor, and beyond the limits of the Jewish system. Those moral offences, whereby the conscience was really burthened, could find no full forgiveness through the sanctions of the Jewish ritual, for "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins."

The meaning of these typical observances was not apparent, probably, till their accomplishment in Christ. Then it was seen that "Jesus also, that He might sanctify the people with His own Blood, suffered without the gate." He was cast forth beyond the walls of Jerusalem, like those sacrifices which polluted all who touched them;²² just as the death He died was an accursed one, for "cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree." But these

²⁰ Leviticus, vi. 26.

²¹ Id. x. 17.

²² Id. xvi. 28.

circumstances changed their nature by coming into contact with Him who was the principle of holiness; the Cross was made the badge of glory; and His death outside the city gates showed that the true source of purity was to be sought beyond the limits of the earthly Jerusalem.

Such were the circumstances which are alluded to in the last Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Reference is made to that higher class of Sin-Offerings, of which Aaron and his sons might not eat, and which had their fulfilment only in the sacrifice of Our Lord. The Jewish believers are reminded of that singular privilege which attended the sacrificial feast of the new Covenant, whereby *all* Christians are allowed to partake of a victim, which according to the ancient usage was forbidden even to the officiating priests. The Holy Communion, that is, lays those things open, even to the private Christian, which under the law were forbidden even to the anointed priest who served the Tabernacle. So that not only is the passage shown to refer to the Holy Eucharist, but we have the authority of an inspired expositor of the Mosaic Law, when we affirm that this service answers to the Jewish Sin-Offering, and even to that highest class of Sin-Offerings which derived its validity from the sacrifice of Christ. So that this service must partake of that efficacy which appertains to the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ, once for all; and the sacrifice of Melchisedek must be an application of the sacrifice on the Cross.

The doctrine, then, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, has its foundation in the truth of the Real Presence. It is grounded upon the same circumstance which has been shown to be characteristic of the Real Presence itself, namely, that Christ is really present because of the presence of His *Body*. For "although Christ does not appear to offer now," says St. Ambrose, "yet Christ Himself is offered on earth, when His *Body* is offered."²³ So that the Eucharistic sacrifice rests upon the fact that all access to God is through the intercession of Christ; it implies that His intercession depends upon the merit of that slain Humanity which He presents before God; and that the same Humanity which is present *naturally* in Heaven, is the medium of His *supernatural* Presence in His Church's ordinances; so that there is one sacrifice but many altars. "Neither do we call this sacrifice of the Eucharist an *efficient* sacrifice, as if that upon the Cross wanted efficacy; but because the force and virtue of that Sacrifice would not be profitable unto us, unless it were applied and brought into effect by this Eucharistical Sacrifice, and other the holy Sacraments and means appointed by God for that end: but we call it propitiatory both this and that, because they have both force and virtue in them to appease God's wrath against this sinful world."²⁴

And hence it may be seen why Luther rejected the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, though

²³ In Psalm xxxviii. 25; vol. i. p. 853

²⁴ Bishop Cosin. Ubi Supra.

admitting the Real Presence, from which it seems to be a necessary deduction. The reason is the same which induced him to depreciate the *importance* of the Holy Eucharist, at the very moment when he admitted its *reality* [vide *p.* 129]. Luther's doctrine of Justification did not allow him to give its full weight to the work of Christ in the economy of man's salvation. The efficacy of Our Lord's death he fully admitted, and that it supplied the only meritorious cause for man's acceptance. But this merit he supposed to be applied, not by the act of Christ, but by the act of the individual. He maintained, not only that faith is needed on our part for the acceptance of God's gifts (which is undeniable), but that it supersedes the necessity of those Gospel ordinances, whereby the Church's members partake the merits of their Head and Advocate. To be saved by faith, on this system, was a substitution of the powers of the individual, in place of the perpetual work of the Great Intercessor. It professed to rest exclusively upon the merits of Our Lord, but to have sufficient resources in itself to wield and apply them. If it be said that the faith, on which so much dependence was placed, was the result of grace, and the gift of God ; yet still it was a gift of which the individual had become possessed ; a gift, " which if heaven gave it, might be termed his own." So that any how it dispensed with the office of the Church's Head, and supposed acceptance to be

obtained through a private effort of the mind, and not through participation in His public actions. And thus did it exclude the necessity of that Eucharistic sacrifice, whereby the Church has part in the Intercession of its Head.

The whole system of the Church, on the other hand, has been designed to bring out the efficacy of Our Lord's Intercession, and to show that He still *continues* to be the sole agent "which taketh away the sin of the world." Thus does the particular doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice grow out of the general truth of the Mediation of Christ. It is nothing more than the admission of this truth, taken in connexion with the fact of the Real Presence. This must have been peculiarly felt by those to whom the system of sacrifices was familiar, and who were accustomed therefore to gain access to God through the public act of some ordained intercessor. And to this circumstance it is, probably, that we must attribute the comparatively little notice which the Eucharistic service receives in Holy Scripture. Not a word is said which militates against its efficacy; and we see it foreshadowed in the law, predicted by Malachi, instituted by Our Lord, and referred to in the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Hebrews. But it is not dwelt upon like those new truths, which were for the first time impressed upon the Christian Church. That Our Lord's sacrifice was complete in itself, that it did not need to be re-

peated, that it superseded all the offerings of the ancient covenant—these were points which it was essential to demonstrate to those to whom they were novelties, just as our thirty-first Article thinks it necessary to insist upon the truth, that besides “the offering of Christ once made,” “there is none other satisfaction for sin.” But that the Priesthood of Melchisedek was exercised like other priest-hoods, through the offering which it presented, and consequently, that its operation embraced all those means by which Our Lord’s perpetual Presence was bestowed upon His people, was too obvious to require enforcement.

But what proof have we that the statements of Scripture are to be thus interpreted? For the very obviousness which made it needless to insist upon this truth, lays it open to contradiction. What proof *could* we have, except the manner in which the statements of Scripture were understood by those to whom they were delivered? Did the ancient Church look upon the Eucharistic service as a Sacrifice, and speak of it as the means whereby men participated in the one atonement?

This question will be best answered by adopting the course which was taken previously, and considering what are the alternatives of which the case admits. One of these is to deny that the Holy Eucharist is a Sacrifice at all. Another is to admit that it is a Sacrifice, but to affirm that the thing presented is not the offering of Christ, but the de-

votion of the communicants. A third is to suppose that the *sacramentum* only, that is, the bread and wine, and not the *res sacramenti*, is the thing offered. Each of these notions has been entertained, but the second, which affirms the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice, but states that the thing offered is only the devotion of the worshippers, is merely a *nominal* answer, and resolves itself in reality into the first. For why should this ordinance be called the Eucharistic Sacrifice, except because its sacramental character bears some part in the offering? Otherwise it has no more title to the name of sacrifice than every act of prayer or praise. Whether the *sacramentum* were offered, or the *res sacramenti*, we might fitly call it a *sacramental* offering; but the name is inapplicable if nothing is intended but that which is common to all religious offices. Why else do we not speak of a Baptismal sacrifice, since the devotion of the worshippers may equally be looked for in that sacrament also? Such a mode of speaking of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is to defend it, as an acute opponent has recently observed respecting Waterland, by explaining it away.

There remain, therefore, in reality, but three systems, which it is possible to entertain. Either the Holy Eucharist is not a sacrifice at all, or if it be, the thing offered is either merely the *sacramentum*, or it includes the *res sacramenti* also. Those who entertain the notions of Zuinglius and Calvin

cannot adopt the last opinion, because they either deny that there exists any *res sacramenti* at all, or deny, at all events, its presence in the ordinance. Their common and most consistent course, has been to deny that the Holy Eucharist is a Sacrifice at all; but there have not been wanting parties who have professed to attach great importance to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and yet have maintained that bread and wine is all which is offered. Now what is the judgment of the ancient Church respecting these three opinions? Is the Holy Eucharist a sacrifice, and is the thing offered the *sacramentum* only, or the *res sacramenti* also?

In reference to the first opinion, it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that no doctrine of the Christian religion is affirmed with more unanimity²⁵ by all ancient writers, than the truth of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. St. Clement, the very earliest of all ecclesiastical authorities, writing in the lifetime of Apostles, mentions the “performing offerings and liturgies”²⁶ as the service which Our Lord had appointed, and speaks of it as the peculiar function of the ministry “to offer the gifts.”²⁷ St. Ignatius, but little later, uses the word Altar²⁸ as the habitual name of the Lord’s Table. Justin Martyr, almost the next Christian

²⁵ “Apud veteres Patres, ut quod res est libere fateamur, de Sacrificio Corporis Christi in Eucharistia incruento frequens est mentio, quæ dici vix potest quantopere quorundam alioqui doctorum hominum ingenia exercuerit, torserit, vexaverit.”—*Bishop Morton in Mede*, Ep. lxxi.

²⁶ “τὰς προσφοράς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.”—*Ad Corinthios*, i. 40.

²⁷ “προσενεγκοντας τὰ ὄψα.”—*Ib.* 44.

²⁸ *Ad. Eph.* v. *Ad Magn.* vii. *Ad Philad.* iv.

writer, besides describing the sacrifice of the Eucharist in his first apology, twice quotes the prediction of Malachi respecting the Christian service, and says that the sacrifice, which was designed to be offered by the Christian Church, was "the bread of the Eucharist, and the cup of the Eucharist."²⁹ St. Irenæus interprets the same prediction, by saying that it refers to "the oblation of the Church, which Our Lord taught to be offered in the whole world."³⁰ And this he explains to be the bread and the cup which is taken from the creation, and which constitute that "new oblation of the New Testament which the Church, receiving from the Apostles, offers throughout the whole world to God."³¹ This passage leads us on to the statement of St. Augustin: "The Church, from the age of the Apostles, through the sure successions of Bishops, goes on even to our own time, and offers (*immolat*) to God the sacrifice of praise in the Body of Christ. . . . This Church is the spiritual Israel, from which that carnal Israel is discriminated which used to serve in the shadows of sacrifices, by which was typified that singular sacrifice which the spiritual Israel now offers. . . . This last sacrifices to God the sacrifice of praise, not according to the course of Aaron, but according to the course of Melchisedek. . . . Those who read know what Melchisedek brought forth when he blessed Abraham, and if they are now

²⁹ Contra Tryphonem, xli. and cxvii.

³⁰ Lib. iv. 18, 1.

³¹ Lib. iv. 17, 5.

partakers in Him, they see such a sacrifice to be offered at present to God throughout the whole world."³²

It can hardly be disputed that there is no ancient writer, whose subject leads him to speak of the Holy Eucharist, who does not declare it to be a sacrifice, who does not call the place an altar at which it is offered, and the person by whom it is presented a priest. "The clergy," says St. Cyprian, "ought to be employed in nothing else but the service of the Altar and in sacrifices."³³ And "the work of the sacrifice," says St. Hilary, "cannot take place without a Presbyter."³⁴ But while it is needless to multiply quotations in proof of that which is indisputable, it would be wrong to omit all mention of the ancient Liturgies. For the primitive estimate respecting the Holy Eucharist is witnessed by their existence, as well as by their construction. It has been already stated, that we have demonstrative proof what expressions were used in the Liturgies of the Churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria, prior to the year 451, while by probable evidence we can show that the general framework of these and other early Liturgies must have come down from the age of the Apostles. Now it is unnecessary to insist on the authenticity of particular phrases, though even these cannot be supposed to have been interpolated, when they are found in the same identical form in the Liturgies

³³ Ep. lxxvi. 109.

³² Contra Advers. Leg. i. 39.

³⁴ Oper. Hist. Frag. ii. 16.

of different countries. But there is one thing which characterizes these Liturgies as a whole, and which so completely interpenetrates their whole construction, as to be inseparable from their existence, namely, that they consist of three distinct actions—Consecration, Sacrifice, and Communion. And the second of these is so prominently put forward, as to be a more marked feature in the Liturgies even than Communion: while Consecration is in all cases introduced as conducive to the other two actions.

Now there cannot be a more convincing proof of the opinion of the Ancient Church, than that this should be the character of its common worship. The Christians met for other purposes—for the singing of Psalms, and the receiving instruction—but the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with its attendant Communion, was the thing which was especially dignified by the name of Service [*the sacred Liturgy*]; this part alone of their worship was thought deserving of being fixed by the composition of a public Ritual; it was the daily worship of the united congregation; the feature which has left its trace in the records of the times. So that even if doubt could be thrown on individual expressions, we could not doubt that the Holy Eucharist was supposed to be a sacrifice by the early Christians; that they agreed with the sentiment expressed by Bishop Cosin, “we offer and present the death of Christ to God, that for His death’s sake we may find mercy, in which re-

spect we deny not this commemorative Sacrifice to be propitiatory.”³⁵

There can be no question, then, that the Holy Eucharist was understood to be a sacrifice by the Ancient Church; and those who look to that Church to inform them what written documents contain the revealed will of God, may be expected to admit that it was a competent witness respecting so material a feature of the new Revelation. But then comes the second question : allowing the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice, what is the thing offered—is it the *sacramentum* only, or the *res sacramenti* also ; is it mere bread and wine, or the Body of Christ ? Now it may readily be admitted that the *sacramentum* is offered : the bread and wine, as a sort of first-fruits of creation, are brought as an offering to God, with a view of being employed in this solemn service, and are thus devoted with various preliminary rites, as being the means which are required by the priest according to the order of Melchisedek, for the celebration of His ritual. And on this account the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist may be fitly spoken of as a memorial of Christ. For as the external part of this ordinance is described by the Fathers as a type or figure of the inward reality, by which it is accompanied [cap. viii. p. 233] ; so the oblation of the *sacramentum* serves as a memorial of Him who is really offered as the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified.

³⁵ Nicholls's Additional Notes, p. 46.

So much is allowed by all who believe that any sacrifice is offered in the Holy Eucharist. The point in dispute is, whether this is *all* which is offered ; whether there be no further view in the service, no deeper meaning ; whether this service is a memorial only, or a reality also. <It cannot be expected that those who take the Zuinglian or Calvinistic view of this ordinance should see anything more in it, because they suppose that they are dealing only with a *sacramentum*, or external form, and deny the existence of the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. > But it would be surprising to find this notion shared by persons who believe in the Real Presence of Christ. If the effect of consecration be to join together the *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*, why should persons exclude the one and offer up the other ? Why should they exclude the reality or thing signified, and offer up the mere form and shell of the victim ? Is not this to be deluded by a system of shadows ? There is a consistency in denying that this service is a sacrifice at all : it is to reject the concurrent sentence of all antiquity ; to divest the worship of the Christian Church of its reality, and to detract from the present efficacy of the Intercession of Christ : yet though a false system, it is harmonious with itself. But to allow the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice, yet suppose that nothing is offered but its external shell and covering—that the Church honours God by presenting to Him the empty husk of its victim—

is little consonant with the truth and actuality of the Christian dispensation. It is to substitute the shadows of the Law for the realities of the Gospel.

Here again, however, we need that test which is supplied by the judgment of the ancient Church. Did it suppose that it was offering to God the *sacramentum* only, or the *res sacramenti* also? It has been maintained that the former was the idea in the second century, because the general expressions, used at that period, do not specify that the oblation of the external form involved the offering of the inward reality. Waterland, who attempts to sustain this theory, is obliged to admit that St. Cyprian, who has occasion to explain the nature of the Holy Eucharist more fully, affirms the two-fold character of that which is offered. "Who is more the Priest of the Most High God," says St. Cyprian, "than Our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that self-same thing which Melchisedek had offered, that is bread and wine, namely, His own Body and Blood." And he adds; "if Jesus Christ, Our Lord and God, is Himself the High-Priest of God the Father, and after offering Himself up to the Father, ordered this to be done in commemoration of Him, that priest surely is a true vicegerent of Christ, who imitates that which Christ did; and he offers a true and full sacrifice to God the Father, if he begins to offer, as he sees that Christ Himself offered."³⁶

³⁶ Epistola. lxiii. sec. 4 and 14.

St. Cyprian was far from intending that the Eucharistic Sacrifice should supersede, or be added to, that of the Cross—"We make mention," he says, "of Christ's passion in all sacrifices, for the sacrifice which we offer is the passion of Our Lord"³⁷—but he is distinct in his assertion, that it is through the Eucharistic service that we participate in the oblation which is perpetually presented in heaven by our Great High-Priest, and that the thing offered is not only bread and wine, but the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. He speaks of one who presumed to solemnize this service³⁸ without the Church's authority, as "an enemy to the altar, a rebel against the sacrifice of Christ;" and as "profaning by false sacrifices the truth of the divine victim." These statements of St. Cyprian, Waterland would set aside, by asserting that there was a "change of language introduced in his time." But for this he has no kind of ground, except that St. Cyprian's statements are more definite than those of an earlier period. For what ancient writer ever hinted that St. Cyprian employed language on this subject, which had not prevailed in the century before him? Why did not Eusebius observe this discrepancy, when he reviewed the period which preceded him, while all its monuments were still in existence? What weight has an argument like this, which professes to stand merely on negative evidence, when it is first heard of at the

³⁷ Epistola, lxiii, sec. 17.

³⁸ "Audet aliud altare facere," &c.—*De Unitate*, p. 185, *Rig.*

distance of fifteen centuries? And considering that St. Cyprian was born within about a hundred years after the death of St. John, when as yet the theological language of the Church was far from matured, such a mode of reasoning is not only fatal to the evidence for Episcopacy, but it might be used as an argument against those fundamental statements respecting the Blessed Trinity, and respecting the Person and Offices of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, which the Church was subsequently guided to elicit from Holy Scripture. Besides, if we look at the writers before St. Cyprian, we find that their views exactly accord with his, though they are less explicit in unfolding them. St. Ignatius not only speaks of the Altar, but says that "the Eucharist is the Flesh of Our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins."³⁹ Justin Martyr tells us that the bread and wine, which in other places he speaks of as offered up in sacrifice, are "the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus."⁴⁰ St. Irenæus says that "the cup and the bread which the creation supplies," and which are the oblation which the Church offers throughout the world, are affirmed by Our Lord to be "His own Blood," and "His Body."⁴¹ And he speaks of "the *Word*"⁴² (he must mean of course according to its human nature), as the Church's Eucharistic sacrifice. Finally, the objective efficacy of such services is

³⁹ Ad Smyr. vi.⁴⁰ Apol. i. 66.⁴¹ Lib. v. ii. 2.⁴² St. Iren. iv. xviii. 4. Massuet's reading is supported by the best manuscripts. Höfling's sole ground of objection to it appears to be his dislike to the doctrine which it illustrates.

attested by St. Cyprian's master, Tertullian, when he declares the "*oblaciones pro defunctis*"⁴³ to be a stated part of Christian worship. Let these statements be brought together, and wherein do they fall short of the more detailed expositions of the truth of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which we have from St. Cyprian and St. Hippolytus in the following century? The latter, speaking of Our Lord as predicted under the name of Wisdom, says, "She has prepared her table, the revealed knowledge of the Sacred Trinity; and His precious and spotless Body and Blood, which are daily celebrated at the mystical and divine table, and sacrificed in memorial of that first memorable table of the mystical divine supper."⁴⁴

The brevity of the earliest writers, then, is not to be esteemed an argument against the more systematic declarations respecting the Holy Eucharist, which we meet with in the third century, any more than their imperfect expressions respecting Our Lord's nature are opposed to the full truth of the Nicene formulary. There is no historical ground for supposing that the opinion of the third and fourth centuries on this subject, was different from that of the first and second. Not the slightest trace exists of any dispute or difference of opinion, such as must needs have arisen, if innovations had been introduced in a fundamental doctrine. The judgment of the whole Church, diffused through many

⁴³ De Corona, iii.

⁴⁴ Gallandi, vol. ii. p. 488.

countries, and employing various languages, was entirely coincident. On many subjects there were warm and lasting disputes; respecting this, not an expression of dissonance. This circumstance would fully justify an appeal to that larger period, in which Christian authors became more numerous, and their statements more complete, even if men refused to recognise that authority in the Church, which is assigned to her in our 20th article. For those who allow the Church to have "authority in controversies of faith," must of course acknowledge its pretensions in that age, when the four first Councils expressed the opinion of the undivided body; while those who suppose it to be nothing but a witness, ought to respect its testimony to the *institutions*, if they appeal to its judgment respecting the *documents* of the Christian faith. Now the judgment of the Church to the time of the Council of Chalcedon, may be expressed in the following assertions:—

First—The thing offered in the Holy Eucharist is affirmed in express terms to be the Body of Christ. St. Cyril's account of "that holy and most awful sacrifice" is, that "we offer up Christ sacrificed for our sins."⁴⁵ St. Augustin's way of stating that the Holy Eucharist had been celebrated in the house of Hesperius, is that a priest "offered up there the sacrifice of the *Body* of Christ."⁴⁶ He affirms that Our Lord has made "the sacrifice of

⁴⁵ Mys. Cat. v. 9, 10.

⁴⁶ De Civ. Dei, xxii. 8, 6.

His own *Body*” to be “the sacrament of the faithful;”⁴⁷ and he discriminates between the Christian and the Jewish covenant, by saying, that “instead of all those sacrifices and oblations, His *Body* is offered and is ministered to the participants.”⁴⁸ St. Maximus justifies the custom of burying the bodies of saints under the altar, by observing that “Christ is placed upon the altar.”⁴⁹ St. Cyril of Alexandria’s description of the Holy Eucharist is, that “the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world is slain. . . . The Son is voluntarily sacrificed, not to-day by the hands of God’s enemies, but by Himself.”⁵⁰

But no one is more full in his assertions on this subject than St. Chrysostom. His liturgy, like every other ancient liturgy, is express in declaring that the thing given in the Holy Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Christ. The prayer of the priest in his ritual is, “make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ;” “and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ;”⁵¹ and the usual words of administration involved the same assertion; “after consecration,” says St. Ambrose, “it is called Blood. And you say, Amen, that is, it is true.”⁵² And these statements of St. Chrysostom’s Liturgy are borne out by expressions in his other works. He describes the spectators of the Holy Eucharist as “beholding Our Lord slain, and

⁴⁷ Epis. cxi. 61.

⁴⁹ De Natal. Sancti. Serm. 78.

⁵¹ Goar, p. 77.

⁴⁸ De Civ. Dei, xvii. xx. 2.

⁵⁰ Vol. v. part ii. p. 371. in Mys. Cæn.

⁵² De Mysteriis, ix. 54; vid. S. Aug. Sermo 272.

lying there, and the priest standing over the Sacrifice and praying;"⁵³ he speaks of the priest as "performing that most awful sacrifice, and continually touching the common Lord of all;"⁵⁴ the communion table, he says, is like the manger at Bethlehem, "for there, too, will lie the Body of the Lord;"⁵⁵ the purpose of coming to Church he describes to be "to perform the sacrifice of the Son of God;"⁵⁶ and to the communicant he says, "consider what kind of victim you are about to handle, what table to approach. Bethink you that being earth and ashes you take the Body and Blood of Christ."⁵⁷ And in like manner in his Homilies on Holy Scripture, he speaks of it as the privilege of the New Covenant, that Our Lord had "changed the very sacrifice itself, and instead of the slaughter of irrational animals, had commanded us to offer up Himself." And "that which He suffered not on the cross, this He suffers in the oblation for thy sake, and submits to be broken, that He may fill all men."⁵⁸ And so on the Epistle to the Ephesians, he speaks of the angels as descending to witness the Holy Eucharist, because then "the sacrifice is brought forth, and Christ, the Lord's sheep, is slaughtered."⁵⁹

Secondly—The sacrifice offered in the Holy Eucharist is affirmed not to be anything super-added to that on the Cross, nor yet a repetition of

⁵³ De Sacer lotio, iii. 4. ⁵⁴ De Sacerdotio, vi. 4. ⁵⁵ De Philogonio, 3.

⁵⁶ De non Anathematizandis, 4. ⁵⁷ In Diem Nat. Christ. 7.

⁵⁸ Hom. xxiv. on I. Corinth. sec. 3, 4.

⁵⁹ Hom. iii. 5.

it. For it was maintained that the Sacrifice on the Cross was a *perpetual* Sacrifice, which had been consummated in Our Lord's death, in order that it might be continually brought before God in the Holy Eucharist. "Was not Christ slain once in Himself," says St. Austin, "and yet in the sacrament He is slain for the people not only every Passover, but every day."⁶⁰ And St. Chrysostom:—

"What, then, do we not offer every day? Certainly we do: but to make a memorial of His death. And this memorial is one, and not many. How can it be one and not many? Because it has been brought once for all, like that sacrifice which was carried into the Holy of holies. For that Jewish sacrifice had a relation to that on the Cross, and the Eucharist has a relation to it. For we offer always the same; we do not offer one sheep to-day and another to-morrow; we offer always the same: so that it is one sacrifice. Otherwise, since the sacrifice is offered in many places, there must be many Christs. But this is not the case, but there is one Christ everywhere, whole Christ here, and whole Christ there—one Body. As therefore He is one Body, though offered in many places, and not many bodies; so likewise is there one Sacrifice. It is that High-Priest of ours who has offered the Sacrifice which cleanses us. And we offer even now that Sacrifice which was then too offered—the inexhaustible Sacrifice. This happens in memory of that which then took place. For 'do this,' he says, 'in memory of Me.' It is not a different sacrifice, as the High-Priest presented in former times; but we offer always the same: or rather we perform a memorial of that sacrifice."⁶¹

I add a passage from the fifth Paschal Homily, which is attributed to Eusebius Emisenus, but which was probably the work of St. Cæsarius, who was born shortly after the Council of Chalcedon. "It was necessary that He who was about to with-

⁶⁰ Epist. xlviii. 9. Vide also Contra Faustum, xx. 18.

⁶¹ In Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. xvii. 3.

draw the Body which He had assumed from our sight, and to transfer it to heaven, should this day consecrate for us the sacrament of His Body and Blood; that the same object which was once offered as the price of our ransom, might be continually worshipped in a mystery; that as a daily and exhaustless redemption was provided for man's salvation, so there might be the perpetual offering up also of their redemption; and that that Victim might live continually in memory, and be always present by grace."⁶²

Thirdly—The victim offered in the Holy Eucharist was said to be identical with *Him* who offered it. Such was the constant language of the Liturgies: "Thou art He that offerest and art offered, O Christ, our God."⁶³ A set of expressions to which St. Ambrose apparently makes allusion. "We have seen the Prince of high-priests coming to us: we have seen and heard Him offering His Blood for us: we who are priests follow as we can, that we may offer a sacrifice for the people; though weak in our own deserts, yet to be honoured for our sacrifice; because though Christ is not now seen to offer, yet He Himself is offered upon earth when the Body of Christ is offered; yea, He Himself is discovered to offer in our persons, whose word hallows the sacrifice which is offered."⁶⁴

⁶² Bib. Pat. Max. vi. 636.

⁶³ Goar, p. 72. So in the Sacramentary of St. Leo: "Sancti Spiritus operante virtute sacrificium jam nostrum, Corpus et Sanguis est ipsius Sacerdotis."—*Muratorii Liturgia Romana Vetus*, vol. i. p. 469.

⁶⁴ In Psalm. xxxviii. Enar. 25. vol. i. p. 853.

And again: "He gave bread to His Apostles, that they might divide it to the mass of believers; to-day He gives to us that bread which He Himself, as High-Priest, consecrates daily with His own words."⁶⁵ And so St. Cyril on the Mystical Supper: "He who was mystically eaten in Egypt, here voluntarily sacrifices Himself:" and again we are bidden to "believe that He Himself continues both Priest and Victim; Himself the offerer and the offered"⁶⁶—passages which we must interpret in consistency with St. Cyril's own statement respecting Our Lord: "we assign to no man, except Him, the name and substance of the priesthood."⁶⁷

Fourthly—It was the habitual custom of ancient writers to speak of the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist as awful, august, and terrible. The Liturgy of St. James calls it "the tremendous and unbloody sacrifice:" St. Basil's speaks of "Thy tremendous and heavenly mysteries:" St. Chrysostom describes it as "that fearful and most tremendous cup," and he perpetually uses such expressions as the "awful mysteries"⁶⁸—"that tremendous and divine Table."⁶⁹

Fifthly—They speak of the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist as truly efficacious for the obtaining of all those things, which are the subject-matter of prayer and of intercession. This is manifest on

⁶⁵ De Benedictione Patriarch. ix. 38. vol. i. p. 524.

⁶⁶ S. Cyril, A. v. 2, p. 375, 378.

⁶⁷ Harduin, i. 1289. (Letter to Nestorius.)

⁶⁸ On I. Cor. Hom. xxiv. 3.

⁶⁹ In Diem Nat. Christi, 7.

the slightest inspection of the ancient Liturgies; and their evidence to it would not be affected, even if it were admitted that some or all of them had suffered verbal interpolation. For it rests upon their structure and general tenor. Their common purpose is to solicit benefits for the worshippers, and for the whole body of Christ; and the petitions to this end either grow out of the sacrifice, and are founded upon it, as is usually the case, or at all events have a direct relation to it. This practice is repeatedly observed upon by ancient writers, and is referred to in a canon of the very early Council of Elvira.⁷⁰ Eusebius speaks of the Bishops whom Constantine collected at Jerusalem, as "appeasing the Divine Power with bloodless sacrifices and mystical solemnizations."⁷¹ "After the spiritual sacrifice is perfected," says St. Cyril, "the bloodless service upon that Sacrifice of Propitiation, we entreat God for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world; for kings; for soldiers and allies; for the sick; for the afflicted; and in a word, for all who stand in need of succour, we all supplicate and offer this sacrifice. Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention God would receive our petition. Afterwards also on behalf of the holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and in a word, of all

⁷⁰ "Hujus nomen neque ad altare cum oblatione recitandum &c."—Can. 29, *Hard.* i. 253.

⁷¹ *De Vita Const.* iv. 45.

who in past years have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a great advantage to the souls for whom the supplication is put up, while that Holy and most Awful Sacrifice is presented.”⁷² To the same effect speaks St. Chrysostom, observing that “our service is not mere scenery, God forbid,” but that prayers may be put up with confidence before the altar, because “there lies there the common expiation of the world.”⁷³

Sixthly—The Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist is declared to have been that which the Jewish ordinances were intended to typify. Eusebius⁷⁴ contrasts it with the ancient sacrifices, and states them to be superseded by it; and the Apostolical Constitutions give a detailed account of the relation of the two Covenants. “Baptism, the sacrifice, the priesthood, ... Our Lord altered. Instead of daily He gave one Baptism, that into His death: instead of one tribe, He appointed that the best of every nation should be ordained to the priesthood; instead of bloody sacrifices He appointed the one reasonable, bloodless and mystical sacrifice, that of His own Flesh and Blood, which is performed by symbols (into, *i. e.*) in reference to the death of the Lord.”⁷⁵ St. Chrysostom therefore says, “our Passover is the offering and sacrifice which is made on every occasion of public worship.”⁷⁶ And St. Augustin speaks of “the sacrifice of the

⁷² S. Cyril's Fifth Myst. Cat. 8, 9.

⁷³ On I. Cor. xv. 46, Hom. xli. 5.

⁷⁴ Demonstratio Evang. Lib. ii. cap. x. p. 37.

⁷⁵ Apost. Const. vi. 23.

⁷⁶ “ὁ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου γινόμενη σὺναξις.”—Hom. adv. Judæos, iii. 4, vol. i. p. 611.

Church, of which all kinds of former sacrifices were shadows.”⁷⁷ And referring to the man cured of leprosy, he says that Our Lord ordered a sacrifice to be offered according to the Jewish ordinances, “because their place was not yet taken by that sacrifice which afterwards He would have celebrated in the Church in the place of all of them, seeing that by all of them He was Himself predicted.”⁷⁸ And when he has occasion to speak of “that table which our High Priest Himself, the Mediator of the New Testament, exhibits, according to the order of Melchisedek, in His own Flesh and Blood,” he adds; “for that sacrifice has succeeded to all those sacrifices of the Old Testament which were slain as a shadow of Him who was to come. . . . For instead of all these sacrifices and oblations His Body is offered, and is ministered to the communicants.”⁷⁹

Seventhly—But the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist is said to differ from those of the law, in that the latter were only a shadow, while the former is a reality. St. Augustin discriminates the Christian from the Jewish covenant, by observing respecting the latter, that in their temple “the Body and Blood of Christ was not yet accustomed to be offered.”⁸⁰ When St. Jerome contrasts David’s act in taking the Shew Bread, with the participation of the Holy Eucharist, “there is as much dif-

⁷⁷ *Contra Adversar.* Legis i. 37.

⁷⁸ *De Baptismo*, iii. 27.

⁷⁹ *De Civitate Dei*, xvii. 20. 2. Vide also S. Leo. *Serm.* lvii. de *Passione*, sec. 7. Theodoret on Heb. xiii. 10, vol. iii. p. 460.

⁸⁰ *Epis.* xxix. 4.

ference," he says, "between the Shew Bread and the Body of Christ, as between a shadow and bodies, between an image and the truth, between the types of future things, and the things which those types prefigured."⁸¹ St. Cyril says, respecting the Holy Eucharist, "it is obvious that this is a divine mystery, and that its participation is life-giving, and that the force of this bloodless sacrifice is far superior to that of the services of the law; and this follows because the injunctions given by Moses to the ancients were said to be shadows, but Christ, and what belongs to Him, to be the truth."⁸² And again, a few lines further, when contrasting the Christian with the Jewish covenant; "how much is their system inferior to ours, on whom Christ, that is, the truth, hath shone forth, having given us His own life-giving Flesh for our participation."

Eighthly—To offer the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, is declared to be an especial office committed to the Apostles and their successors. For as Eusebius describes it in the passage recently quoted, the bishops who were not occupied in other services, were employed to "propitiate the Divine Power with unbloody sacrifices;" and "the work of sacrifice," says St. Hilary, "could not happen without a presbyter."⁸³ "No one doubts, I suppose," says Victor of Antioch, "that by the words, '*take,*

⁸¹ In Ep. ad Titum, i. vol. iv. part i. p. 418.

⁸² Advers. Nest. iv. 5, vol. vi. p. 112.

⁸³ Ex. Op. Hist. ii. 16, p. 1294.

this is my Body, &c., Our Lord gave His Apostles the power of *celebrating*, and of performing the mysteries of the New Testament: "84 whereas previously, "it was not committed to the Apostles to make and minister the celestial Bread for the food of eternal life."85 And this was the function which they transmitted to their successors; so that St. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of St. Athanasius as having been admitted into the order of those "who approached to their approaching God;" and says he was educated as befitted those who were "to handle the mighty Body of Christ."86

These several statements supply decisive proof, that the ancient Church supposed the offering presented in the Holy Eucharist to consist not of the *sacramentum* only, but of the *res sacramenti* also. For not only did the ancient writers speak of the offering as the Body of Christ, and identify the sacrifice with the sacrificer, but they speak of it in terms of awe and reverence, to which a mere external sign could not possibly be entitled. Neither could the *sacramentum*, in itself, be the *reality* which availed for man's acceptance; it could not be the *antitype* to the services of the Jewish law; nor could its presentation accord well with so solemn a commission as that of the Apostles. So that if we are to understand the statements of Scripture, as they were understood by those to whom

84 Bib. Pat. Max. iv. p. 407.

85 S. Hilar. in Matth. cap. xiv. sec. 10, p. 681.

86 Oratio, xxi. 4. p. 376.

they were uttered, we must suppose not only that the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice, but that the thing sacrificed is the reality, or *res sacramenti*, that is, the Body and Blood of Christ.

And hence it may be seen on what principle, and in what degree, the *devotion* of Christians makes part of the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist. I have already shown, that considered in itself, it does not answer to those conditions which are to be looked for in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. For there is nothing sacramental in its character; there is no *sacramentum* or *res sacramenti*; the prayers which are offered at the Holy Communion do not differ from those which accompany any other act of worship. But there is one view in which the worshippers may be regarded, which connects them with that which has been shown to be the true oblation in the Holy Eucharist: and this circumstance it is which enables them to “present themselves, their souls and bodies, a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice.” For “the Christian sacrifice,” says St. Augustin, is “the many who make up one body in Christ.” So that “the whole congregation and society of the saints is offered to God as an universal sacrifice by its great High Priest, who also offered up Himself in His Passion for us, that we might be the Body of so great a Head.”⁸⁷ On this principle did the Apostle speak of the oblation, of which he was the minister, as “the offering up of the Gentiles;”

⁸⁷ De Civitate Dei, x. 6.

inasmuch as in this sense the Christian Church itself constitutes the sacrifice which is presented to God. Thus is it in some sort the *res sacramenti*, which is aptly symbolized by the many grains, which have been kneaded together into its outward part or earthly emblem. For "we being many, are one bread and one body." So that, regarded in this manner in its collective character, the Christian Church fulfils the conditions of a sacramental offering. But nothing can show more clearly than this very circumstance, that the true *res sacramenti*, Christ's Body in its Real Presence, is not excluded from the sacrifice. For what is it which gives its sanctity to the mystical Body of Christ, and qualifies it to be presented to the Holy God? Is it not that it is His Body from whom all gifts of grace extend themselves to His members? "He has mingled Himself with us, and has infused His Body into us, that we might be rendered one entity, as a body united to its head."⁸⁸ For is it not the perfection of His Body natural, by which His Body mystical is sanctified? The ointment which has been poured forth upon the Church's Head, has reached down to the skirts of its clothing. If the Body mystical therefore of Christ be a fit sacrifice to offer to God, it is by reason of the influence and presence of that Body natural by which it is ennobled. So that when she is herself offered up "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God," we may

⁸⁸ S. Chrys. in Joan. Hom. xlvii. sec. 3, p. 272.

not exclude that, by which alone this is rendered a grateful sacrifice to the Father. The Church, which is the mystical Body of Christ, is accepted through the perpetual pleading of His Body⁸⁹ natural.

To conclude. The Eucharistic Sacrifice is not the offering of the *sacramentum* only, the first-fruits of nature, but much more that of the *res sacramenti*, the *reality*, or thing signified. It is the offering up of the collective Church, Christ's mystical Body, but it is also the offering up of Christ Himself, by whom that Body is sanctified. Yet He is not offered up as though anything could be added to the sacrifice of the Cross, or as though that sacrifice required renewal. The blood-stained sacrifice which the One Great High Priest for ever pleads before the Father's throne, admits neither of increase nor repetition. "For in the Church of God, which is the Body of Christ, neither is the priesthood valid, nor the sacrifices real, unless the true High Priest in our very nature reconciles us; unless we are washed in the true Blood of the spotless Lamb. Who although He be placed at the Father's right hand, yet, in the same Flesh which He took of the Virgin, carries out the sacrament of our propitiation; as the Apostle says, Jesus Christ, who is dead, yea, rather who is risen from the dead, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."⁹⁰ He who has been consecrated

⁸⁹ Hence the ancient Canon (*Hard.* i. 963), that the Eucharistic Sacrifice should be addressed exclusively to the Father.

⁹⁰ St. Leo, Epist. ix. 2.

a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek, chooses this medium for giving effect to His perpetual intercession. That acceptance which He purchased by the sacrifice of the cross, He applies through the sacrifice of the altar. He Himself it is, who through the voice of His ministers consecrates these earthly gifts, and thus bestows the mystery of His Real Presence. By Himself, again, is the precious Victim presented before the Father's throne; and the intervention of their Heavenly Head gives reality to the actions of His earthly ministers.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BENEFITS WHICH RESULT FROM THE HOLY
EUCCHARIST.

THE nature of the Holy Eucharist has been considered. It remains to say something respecting its results. They will be found to be determined by the character of the ordinance, so that its benefits must be ascertained by reference to its nature. This is the course adopted in Holy Scripture, and followed, as was observed, in the Catechism of our Church. Whereas the benefits of Baptism are directly stated, and great promises are annexed to its observance, the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is not commended to us with any promise, nor is it directly asserted to be attended by any spiritual benefit.

The reason of this difference apparently, is that Baptism has no *res sacramenti*, which can be distinguished from the *virtus sacramenti*; so that in Baptism the inward part cannot be spoken of, without the enumeration of those benefits which it

contains. Therefore we hear of “the *washing* of regeneration,” and that “Baptism doth even now *save* us.” And so in the Catechism, the inward part of this ordinance is “a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness.” But in the Holy Eucharist the benefits which accrue, and the promises which pertain to it, are something distinct from the inward part, of which they are a consequence. So that they are not associated with the *ordinance at large*, but with the *inward part* or *thing signified*. The only thing which is told us respecting the ordinance at large is, that the inward and outward parts are so joined together by the mystical tie of consecration, that to receive the one is to receive the other. We learn its benefits, therefore, from what is told us respecting the *res sacramenti* or thing signified; and thence gather what must be the advantages of an ordinance, which else would come down to us as a mere arbitrary appointment.

I. Regarding the Holy Eucharist then in this manner, let us first ask what are its benefits, considered as a *sacrifice*. They follow from the fact, that it is through this service that the Great High Priest, who has been consecrated according to the order of Melchisedek, performs His perpetual functions. So that here we have a fulfilment of that which Our Lord predicted respecting the Holy Eucharist; “the bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.” Thus does this ordinance resolve the highest act of

earthly worship, into a function of Our Mediator's heavenly office. It represents Him not only as having paid once for all, the price of man's deliverance, but likewise as perpetually applying it through His prevailing intercession. To regard the Holy Eucharist, therefore, as the main sacrifice of the Christian Church, is to suppose that human worship is only acceptable, so far as it is identified with the offering of Christ. So that we approach God in this service with peculiar confidence, because "the common expiation of the world lies before us. Therefore with boldness do we then intreat for the whole world."¹ "In the oblation following," says Bishop Cosin respecting our own form of Consecration, "we pray that it may prevail so with God, as that we and all the whole Church of Christ (which consists of more than those that are upon the earth) may receive the benefit of it."² For "not in vain," says St. Chrysostom, "did the Apostles order that remembrance should be made of the dead in the dreadful mysteries. They know that great gain resulteth to them, and great assistance; for when the whole people stand with uplifted hands, a priestly assembly, and that awful Sacrifice lies displayed, how shall we not prevail with God by our entreaties for them."³

The benefit of the Holy Eucharist, then, as a sacrifice, depends on the peculiar grounds of ac-

¹ St. Chrys. on I. Cor. Hom. xli. 5, vol. x. 393.

² Nicholls's add. Notes, p. 46.

³ Hom. iii. 4, in Philipp. vol. xi. p. 217.

ceptance with which in that ordinance we are enabled to draw near to God. We can approach boldly, because our offering is consecrated by His own Presence. And this circumstance gives a *reality* to the worship of the universal Church, which nothing else can bestow upon it. It is seen to have but one worship and one ritual, one central altar, with which all altars throughout the whole world are identified. He who pleads there, presents the prayers of all saints before the throne of God. But it is not their own merit which gains them acceptance, but the inestimable value of that spotless Humanity, which was slain once that it might be offered for ever. "This is the power of the priesthood, this is the High Priest. For He did not offer a sacrifice Himself once, and then cease from His Priesthood; but in this manner does He for ever discharge that service, whereby He is our perpetual advocate with God: for which reason it was said of Him, 'Thou art a Priest for ever.' Therefore it is that the faithful need have no doubt concerning the sanctification of the gifts, nor yet respecting the other ordinances, and whether the purpose and prayers of the priesthood are fulfilled."⁴

II. I turn to the benefits of the Holy Eucharist regarded as a *sacrament*. In order to appreciate them, it is necessary to recall to our thoughts the principle upon which sacraments are dependent.

⁴ "Germani Rerum Eccl. Contemplatio."—*Gallandi*, xiii. 222.

They are the application of the Incarnation; the means of bringing home to each individual, that benefit which was bestowed by Christ upon our collective race. The intercourse which originally existed between the Supreme Mind, and the minds which He had created, had been cut off by sin, so that it was essential that a channel of connexion should be re-opened between them. For all good is in God, and has its source in His adorable nature. So that to the creature it can come only by transmission from that its native habitation. In order, then, that it might be transmitted to our fallen race, did God the Word condescend to become the Mediator between God and man, by taking that nature in which He offered Himself as a victim. Thus did He provide a new road of intercourse for humanity at large, seeing that in His Person the Infinite and the finite, God and man, the Blessed Trinity and the children of Adam, were brought into relation.

Out of this relation to humanity at large, flow those two ordinances of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, whereby this gift is communicated to individuals. These ordinances differ from one another, in that Baptism is the act whereby God the Holy Ghost puts each separate child of the old Adam into relation with that Humanity of the New Adam, which is the medium of life to the soul; whereas the Holy Eucharist is the act whereby, through the efficacy of the same Blessed Spirit, the Incarnate

Word bestows the Real Presence of His very Flesh and Blood, for the food of His people. So that Christ's Body may be *said* to be present even in Baptism, because in that ordinance the Incarnate Saviour is Himself present by Spiritual power, but the Man Christ Jesus is *really* present in the Holy Eucharist, by reason of the presence of His Body and Blood. Baptism, therefore, is the first means of putting men into connexion with the Blessed Trinity, through their relation to the Humanity of Christ; and consequently the form of Baptism is a consecration into the Name of the Three Persons in the glorious Godhead: but the Holy Eucharist is the perpetual communication of that renewed type of Humanity, which Our Lord consecrated in Himself by the taking of the manhood into God. So that both ordinances illustrate St. Cyril's statement: "that which produces in us the Divine likeness must be our sanctification, that is, the partaking of the Son through the Spirit."⁵

The difference which has been pointed out between these two sacraments, is the reason why Baptism does not require that consecration of the elements, which is essential to the Holy Eucharist. For Baptism is the combination of a visible, and an invisible action, whereby the Holy Ghost works effectually upon the receiver's mind. But in the Holy Eucharist, the inward part, or thing signified, is not the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, though that

⁵ De Sancta Trinitate Dial. vi. vol. v. part i. p. 595.

Gracious Spirit condescends to be the agent who bestows it, but the very Body and Blood of the Incarnate Son. These, therefore, are not united to the outward part merely as an act is connected with the sign which is simultaneous with it; but the outward and inward parts are truly joined together, so that they can be dealt with as if they were identical. Such is the work which is effected by consecration, whereby the inward and outward parts in the Holy Eucharist are bound together by the operation of the Holy Ghost. For "our mystical bread and cup are produced by a certain consecration. That which is not so produced is only an earthly aliment, not a sacrament of religion."⁶ And such a process is not required in Baptism, because, though in that sacrament men are joined to the "Last Adam," and thus made members of their Mystical Head, yet the union is not brought about through any actual communication of Our Lord's *Body* and *Blood*, but only through the efficacy of the Holy Ghost. For "Baptism is truly Christ's and from Christ," but "the power of the mystical Eucharist is derived from His sacred *Flesh*."⁷

If it be asked, then, what is the exact benefit which we derive from the Holy Eucharist, the answer must be found by considering what Our Lord has revealed respecting the efficacy of that Flesh and Blood, which it has pleased Him to make the medium of His Presence. And here it must be

⁶ St. Aug. contra Faustum, xx. 13.

⁷ St. Cyril A. iv. p. 1074.

remembered that we are not speaking of the efficacy of His Flesh and Blood according to a *natural* order, or as though it were the nourishment of the *body*, but of its efficacy according to that divine law of a sacramental presence, whereby He bestows it as the nourishment of the *soul*. So that we are not supposing a certain portion of matter to be endued with the power of producing magical effects: the Flesh and Blood of Our Lord are life-giving, because they are united to His Person, and are the means whereby His Presence is dispensed. And therefore the Holy Eucharist may be called a *moral*⁸ and not a *physical* agent, *i. e.*, an agent which is not independent of the will of Him by whom it is employed. This distinction Our Lord points out when He says, "it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." He does not say that under no circumstances does the flesh profit: indeed, He had just before asserted the contrary; but it profiteth nothing *in itself*; and as detached from that spiritual principle, of which it is the agent.

"Even in Christ the flesh must not be thought of alone, and in itself, for it has united to it that Word, who is naturally life. When, therefore, Christ calls it life-giving, it is not to it, so much as to Himself, or to His own Spirit, that He testifies that the life-giving power belongs. For it is through Himself that His own Body is life-giving, since He reconstituted the elements of His nature through His own power. How He did so, neither can mind conceive, nor tongue express, but we must admire with silence, and a faith which passes understanding."⁹

⁸ Vide Estius in Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. i. 5, and supra, cap. ii. p. 22.

⁹ St. Cyril A. iv. p. 377, vide supra, cap. vi. p. 162.

It is as the instrument, then, of Our Lord Himself, as the medium through which He bestows His Presence, and not because a certain portion of matter is competent of itself to produce miraculous effects, that the Holy Eucharist is beneficial. Our Lord has been pleased to make the Flesh and Blood which He took, the channel of His blessings. "The bread that I will give is My Flesh." And for this He had made preparation, by sanctifying that nature which He had assumed. "For their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth." It is for the carrying out of this work that the Holy Eucharist was appointed, wherein, says St. Cyril, Our Lord declares to us, "I became such as you for your sakes, without departing from My own nature, that you might be partakers of the Divine nature through Me."¹⁰ "For the manna was not the bread of life, but rather I who came down from heaven, who quicken all things, and infuse Myself into those who eat Me, even through the Flesh which has been united to Myself."¹¹ And so speaks St. Augustin, when he compares the manner in which the Divine gifts are bestowed upon mankind, to the provision which is made for the support of an infant through its mother's milk. After saying that "*ipsam panem mater incarnat*," he applies the analogy to the case of Our Incarnate Lord, who being as God "the

¹⁰ S. Cyril. in Myst. Cœnam, vol. v. pt. 2. p. 374.

¹¹ Id. Adv. Nest. iv, 5. vol. vi. 113.

food of angels," bestows Himself as the food of men in the Holy Eucharist.¹²

And hence follow two consequences—first, the quickening of our mortal nature by the seed of a higher life; and secondly, the privilege of a more intimate relation to the Divine nature. The former has its ground in that statement of St. Paul; "the first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening Spirit." For "how can they say," exclaims St. Irenæus, "that the flesh passes into corruption, and does not partake of life, which is fed with the Body of the Lord, and with His Blood?"¹³ "For though death having made invasion through sin, has power over man's body to destroy it, yet since Christ becomes our inmate by His own Flesh, we shall surely rise again. For that life should not quicken those in whom it dwells, is incredible, or rather impossible."¹⁴ And this connects itself with the other truth—the present exaltation of our nature by union with God. For the union of Persons with one another in the Blessed Trinity, is graciously set forth as the principle and ground of that union, which the Incarnate Word maintains with His people. "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, even so He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me." As the eternal and co-equal Son derives His Divine nature

¹² "Saginantur illo angeli: sed semetipsum exinanivit, ut manducaret panem Angelorum homo."—*In Psalm. xxxiii. Enar.* i. 6. "Cum vita ista transierit . . . nec sacramentum altaris habemus accipere, quia ibi erimus cum Christo, cujus corpus accipimus."—*S. Aug. Sermon. lix.* 6.

¹³ S. Iren. iv. 18, 5.

¹⁴ S. Cyril A. vol. iv. p. 363.

by ineffable generation from the self-existent Father, so does He communicate His Human nature in the Holy Eucharist, as the spiritual sustenance of His brethren. "Thus through the Mediator is there a perfect unity, while we abide in Him and He in the Father, and abiding in the Father He abides in us." For "while He is in the Father by the nature of Deity, we, on the contrary, are in Him by His corporal nativity, and He in us by the mystery of the sacraments."¹⁵

We should launch out into a wide sea, were we to enumerate all the benefits which the ancient writers attribute to this holy sacrament. In their estimate it was life, forgiveness, sanctification, strength, nourishment, an entrance into the Holy of Holies, the surest pledge of eternal bliss. "*Corpus Christi edimus, ut vite æternæ possimus esse participes.*"¹⁶ These are all included, however, in the two previous statements, first, that our nature is purified by the entrance of the Body of Christ; secondly, that by oneness with the Body of the Mediator, it is brought into near relation with the nature of God. And therefore, without dwelling upon the words in which devout men of old time gave vent to their feelings of love and admiration, we may pass on to two cautions by which these two considerations require respectively to be guarded. It must be observed, first, that the process by which Christ's Body and Blood act upon the receiver is

¹⁵ S. Hilarius De Trinit. viii. 15.

¹⁶ S. Ambros. in Luc. lib. x. 49.

spiritual and not *physical* ; secondly, that the relation which is thus brought about between the receiver and Christ, is according to the law of *love*, not the law of *personality*.

First—It might be imagined from the words of St. Cyril, that he supposed that some carnal commixture took place between the Body of Christ, and the material substance of ours. But this was not his belief, or that of the other Fathers ; although their assertions, that the Body of Christ, which suffered on the cross, is truly received into man's body in the Holy Eucharist, might be thought to involve such a consequence. For it must be remembered that they were not speaking of a *natural* Presence of Christ's Body, but of a Presence which was *supernatural* ; of a Presence which, if we define matter to be that which is an object to the senses, may be called *immaterial*. Such a Presence they asserted to be brought about in a supernatural manner by the power of the Holy Ghost. Hence the belief that while the *sacramentum*, or outward part, is assimilated to the human body as natural food, the *res sacramenti*, or Body of Christ, becomes the food of the soul. " Our Lord feeds His Church with these sacraments" (*i. e.* of the Body and Blood), " by which the *substance of the soul* is strengthened."¹⁷ And the same statement reappears in the treatise on sacraments, which, though it is not quoted in this place as an authority, because its genuineness

¹⁷ Idem. de Myst. ix. 55.

is doubtful, was certainly modelled after the teaching of St. Ambrose—"That bread of eternal life sustains the substance of our soul."¹⁸ This is equivalent to the mediæval statement, "the Body of Christ is the food not of the belly, but of the mind; of the soul and not the body."¹⁹ And therefore the benefit of this sacrament cannot be obtained without faith; seeing that it is only through faith that the inward part, or *res sacramenti*, can be apprehended by the mind. So St. Ambrose: "Christ is touched by faith, Christ is seen by faith: He is not touched with the body, He is not taken in by the eyes."²⁰ To the same purpose is the well-known statement of St. Augustine: "*quid paras dentes et ventrem; crede et manducasti.*"²¹ These words have sometimes been quoted as if they were designed to oppose the doctrine of the Real Presence, whereas they were intended against the Capernaïtes, who supposed that Our Lord's Body was to be eaten in the way of natural food; but the truth which they express is of general application, for faith is essential if the *res sacramenti* is to be the spiritual nourishment of the soul. So that though Our Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist are the source of benefit to our whole constitution, yet these benefits

¹⁸ S. Ambros. De Sacramentis, v. 24. ¹⁹ S. Thomæ Opusc. lix. 6.

²⁰ S. Ambros. in Lucam. lib. vi. 57.

²¹ S. Aug. in Joan. Tract xxv. 12. So William of Paris: "Dentes siquidem intellectus in ipsam, quanto profundius possunt, figendi sunt, ut inde saporum exprimatur suavitas. Horum autem dentium fixationes non sunt, nisi profundæ atque acutæ de illo cogitationes."—*De Sacram. Euchar.* cap. vii. p. 429.

must come to us through the intervention of the believing mind. The Body of Christ, which we receive in this sacrament, is a renewed and renewing example of our common humanity ; but it does not, and cannot, act directly upon our material structure, seeing that its Presence is not that natural Presence which could be an object to the senses, or supply nourishment to our bodily frame.²² Although we may pray, therefore, “ that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body,” as well as “ our souls washed by His most precious Blood,” yet it is only through a spiritual process that this work can be effected, and its medium must be a believing heart.

Those among the ancient writers who have been observed to be less exact than St. Augustin, in discriminating between the external and internal parts in this sacrament (sup. cap. ix. p. 277), may be shown to have been entirely accordant with him in their principles, since they taught that the object of the Holy Eucharist is not to nourish the bodies of the receivers, but to build up the Body of Christ. So St. Cyril of Jerusalem says that the purpose of reception is, “ that thou, by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, mightest be made of the same

²² This is strikingly put by William of Paris, though he carried on the notion, so as to deny to the *sacramentum*, as well as to the *res sacramenti*, the power of nourishing the body. “ Manifestum est mensa altaris, postquam mensa animarum effecta est, nihil habere corporalis cibi, vel potus : alioquin non solum supervacue illud haberet, sed etiam ad illusionem, et ridiculum. Quemadmodum enim si corporibus reficiendis apponeretur cibus spiritualis, illuderetur eis : sic in mensâ animarum, cibus corporalis ad illusionem animarum tantum esset et ridiculum.”—*De Sacramento Eucharistie*, cap. i. p. 415. (Venice, 1591.)

body and the same blood with Him.”²³ “It is called communion, and is so truly,” says St. John Damascene, “because by it we communicate with Christ; we share by it in His Flesh and Deity, and communicate and are made one with one another.”²⁴ This is to affirm that the purpose of the Holy Eucharist is to incorporate men more completely into the Body of Christ, and it accords, therefore, with the statement which St. Augustin makes of the effect of Gospel ordinances. “It is the will of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to be fed by the ministry of His servants, that is, to transfer believers into His Body, as though they were things which could be slain and eaten.”²⁵ The idea is built upon that fundamental law, on which depends the existence of organized bodies, that their maintenance is through the assimilation of external substances, by which their own structure is continually increased. Now we have Our Lord’s authority for saying, that His sacred Body is in some manner the nourishment of men. “My Flesh is meat indeed.” So that St. Chrysostom illustrates the state of the ungodly receiver, by that of a man whose disordered body is incapable of digesting food.²⁶ But this process must, in every case, be dependent upon that principle of life, by

²³ Myst. Cat. iv. 3.

²⁴ Damascen. de Fide Orthod. iv. 13, p. 273.

²⁵ Quæst. Evangel. ii. 39. These strong expressions were derived, probably, from his having in his mind the words, “Arise, Peter, slay and eat.” He says in his sermons, “Transeunt interfecti in corpus unum Ecclesiæ: cujus Ecclesiæ figuram gerebat Petrus, quando ei dictum est, *macta et manduca*.”—Serm. iv. 19, and vide cxxv. 9.

²⁶ St. Chrys. in Ep. ad Hebræos. cap. x. Hom. xvii. 4. p. 169.

which the several portions of each organized structure are disposed and harmonized. So that it must be the ruling power of each body—the mind which animates it—by which the relation of the parts to the whole must be determined. When we speak of Christ, then, as giving His Body for our food, and of the building up of the Body of Christ as the consequence, it is obvious that the process is exactly the reverse of that which happens in the case of ordinary nourishment. Since it is *Christ's* Body which is built up ; in *Him*, and not in *us*, must be the informing Spirit. It must be the life which has its source in Him, from which “all the Body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, increaseth unto the increase of God.” “My body lives by my spirit ; yours by your spirit. The Body of Christ cannot live save by the Spirit of Christ.”²⁷ So that though Christ's Body is orally received, yet *It* does not become part of *us*, but *we* become part of *Him* ; *He* is not resolved, as it were, into the structure of our minds, but *we* pass, on the contrary, into His divine organization. The *sacramentum* indeed, or outward part, is assimilated, like other food, to the body which receives it : but the *res sacramenti* is an energizing principle, which takes up and quickens that upon which it is bestowed.

Now, such a mode of operation as this is spiritual, and not carnal ; and addresses itself, not to the

²⁷ St. Aug. in Joan. Trac. xxvi. 13.

bodily organs, but to the inner man. "Spiritual and corporal nourishment," says a striking writer, "follow contrary laws : in corporal nourishment the nutriment is converted into the substance of the thing nourished : but in the nourishment of the spiritual life, the thing nourished is converted into the nature of the thing which nourishes it, and of its nutriment ; and the nutriment is not changed, but only the thing nourished."²⁸ That such should be the process, therefore, in the Holy Eucharist, shows the thing received not to be *dead matter*, which is to acquire life by being taken into the organization of the receiver, but a living principle, which has power to absorb and organise those by whom it is partaken. And this is the manner in which the Holy Eucharist is always described by ancient writers : "the effect of participating of the Body and Blood of Christ is nothing else than that we pass into that which we receive :"²⁹ "as St. Paul says, a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, so the very smallest portion of the Eucharist resolves our whole body into itself, and fills us with its own energy."³⁰ "The Body" (*i.e.* of Our Lord) "which has been rendered immortal by God, having become present in ours, transforms and changes the whole of it to itself."³¹ Those who thus regard it could not have supposed that it was the nourishment of the body, but must have under-

²⁸ Raimundus de Sabunde, Theol. Naturalis, 285.

²⁹ St. Leo, Serm. lxiii. 7.

³⁰ St. Cyril, A. iv. 365.

³¹ S. Greg. Nyss. Catech. Orat. 37. Vide supra, cap. iv. p. 102.

stood its real nature and spiritual laws. And this they further showed by founding upon this truth two other important doctrines ; namely, the Unity of the Church ; and the title which the Church herself possessed to be regarded as a portion of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The Church's Unity depends upon the oneness of that Divine Head, whose spiritual Body it becomes through the Holy Eucharist. "The Church of the Saviour is one, because those who have believed are resolved into one Body."³² "And the unity of this Body," says St. Augustin, "is taught us by our sacrifice, which the Apostle briefly signified, saying, 'we are all one bread and one body.'"³³ And so St. Ignatius : "one Eucharist, because one Flesh of Our Lord Jesus Christ."³⁴ And in like manner, because the mystical Body of the Lord is the extension of His Body natural, does the Church itself become a part of the Eucharistic sacrifice. "Since the Church is His own Body, she learns to offer up herself through Him."³⁵

Since it is allowed, then, that the Body and Blood of Christ act in a spiritual, and not a physical manner, it may be asked why it is essential to affirm their *real Presence* in the Holy Eucharist, and why it is not enough to believe merely that Christ Himself enters into personal relation with us by a spiritual power, as is the case in Baptism ? It would be a sufficient answer that we are taught

³² Theodoret. in Psalm. xvi. 8.

³⁴ Ad Philad. 4.

³³ Epis. clxxxvii. 20.

³⁵ St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, x. 20.

otherwise in Scripture, and that a different belief prevailed in the ancient Church. In Baptism we are said to put on the New Man Christ Jesus, and by His Spirit to be engrafted into His Body : but His *Body* and *Blood* are affirmed to be really present in the Holy Eucharist. And hence the Church's uniform distinction, that Christ's Body may be *said* to be present in Baptism, but that He is *really* present in the Holy Eucharist, by reason of the Presence of His Body and Blood. But it may be observed further, that such a scheme of doctrine is in perfect consonance with that which we know respecting the fall and recovery of mankind. For is it not the essential characteristic of the Christian system, that it depends on those two men, in one of whom humanity fell, while it was regenerated in the other ? Does not this imply that the cure of human ill must, in some measure, be correspondent to its cause ? May we not anticipate the gifts of grace to be bestowed in a manner which is analogous to the incursions of sin ? Now, in what manner is corruption propagated among men ? The souls of men are believed to be each a separate creation³⁶ of the Supreme Being ; and to become in some way infected with that hereditary taint, which is perpetuated through the propagation of their bodies. If it be affirmed, then, that the soul cannot be a channel through which the gift of Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist

³⁶ Vide Doctrine of the Incarnation, p. 41, ed. 3rd : p. 34, ed. 4th.

can affect and modify the whole body, how comes it that a man's own body can produce such effects upon his soul? And that the sanctified Body of Christ should be employed as the medium of benefit to the souls of men, is evidently consistent with the analogy, which looks for a resemblance between the poison and the antidote. For are they not tainted by their relation to that corrupted flesh, which they inherit from Adam?

“If the flesh of the first man, made poisonous and mortal, communicates death to the soul, shall not the Flesh of Christ, which is healthful and life-giving, bestow upon it life and safety? Therefore, as the soul contracts all its ill by flesh, it ought by flesh to receive all its benefit. If it is to be freed from the evil, which came to it by the flesh of the first man, it must have society and union with the Flesh of Christ, the Second Man. And as by the single flesh of the first man all souls are infected and destroyed, so are all souls washed, cleansed, and quickened, by the Flesh of Christ. As the flesh of the first man is the storehouse of all vices, sins, and crimes, so all virtues, all spiritual treasures, and all blessings, are stored up in the Flesh of Christ. As the former flesh separates the soul from God, and unites it with Satan; so the Flesh of Christ separates it from Satan, and unites it to God. For as Satan lurks in the flesh of the first man, so the Godhead abides in the Flesh of the Second. Therefore, when the soul is united and associated with the Flesh of Christ, it is associated and united with the Godhead. And as Satan takes possession of souls by the flesh of Adam, so by His own Flesh are they taken possession of by Christ.”³⁷

The considerations which have been adduced, supply the explanation of another point of great moment—what is requisite on the part of the receiver, if he would profit by the gift of the Holy Eucharist. It has been stated that this sacrament

³⁷ Raimundus de Sabunde Tit. 290.

consists of two parts, an outward part, which supplies nourishment to the body, an inward part, which supplies nourishment to the soul. Now, between these there exists a certain analogy, so that as the bodily functions are necessary for the profitable reception of the one, so those of the soul for the profitable reception of the other. And as life is that principle, without which the body cannot profit by the aliment which it receives, so neither can the soul profit by its nourishment except it lives. If the body were dead, its organs would be unable to assimilate to themselves the food which was administered to it ; and in like manner would the soul's food be unprofitable, if it were dead also. But it was observed that the law, according to which the Body of Christ sustains the soul, was the converse of that, according to which the outward elements sustain the body. *It* does not pass into *our* spiritual structure, but *we* into *His* ; in Him lies the principle of life ; He is the Head of the Church, the Saviour of the Body. So that from Him must come that life, by which all members of His mystical Body are quickened. And so we read in Holy Scripture. To the Eternal Father belongs the origin of life, by the necessity of His nature. From Him it passes co-eternally to the Eternal Son of His love by necessary derivation ; and to the Son Incarnate by voluntary gift. For, "as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." And

one main purpose of St. John's Gospel was to reveal how this gift is extended from the Head to the members. "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have *life* through His name." Such is His own merciful declaration, "I am come that they might have life;" "I am the resurrection and the life;" "I am the way, the truth, and the life;" and the evil of those who rejected Him He states to be, "ye will not come to Me, that ye might have life."³⁸

Such is the manner in which the gift of life is communicated to mankind; it comes through the intervention of the one Mediator, and the agency of His Spirit: for "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness." So that when Cornelius and his friends had been marked out as qualified subjects for Baptism by the supernatural descent of the Holy Ghost, it was said, "then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto *life*." If to possess life, therefore, be the necessary qualification for the Holy Eucharist, the preparation must be to be united with Christ by the Spirit. For thus, and thus only, does *life* enter into the soul of man. "I live," says the Apostle, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." And therefore the ordinance of Baptism, wherein men are

³⁸ Vide St. John, xx. 31; x. 10; xi. 25; xiv. 6; v. 40.

made members of the Body of Christ, makes them partakers also of His life. For "we are buried with Him by Baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of *life*." And "if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him."

On this circumstance was built the law of the ancient Church, that the first requisite for profitable participation in the Holy Eucharist was the sacrament of Baptism. It turns upon the same principle, upon which we must account for the absence of all mention of the Holy Eucharist between the time of the Last Supper and the day of Pentecost. In that interval, when Our Lord's death was most recent, and the mere natural acts of memorial would have been most in place, we read of no Eucharist, because that spiritual relation, whereby Christians are bound to the Body of Christ, was consequent upon the gift of the Holy Ghost. It was requisite, therefore, that Our Lord's Humanity should first occupy that new place which it took in His Ascension; that it should "give" those Pentecostal "gifts,"³⁹ which the Incarnation had conferred in His person upon manhood; and "instruct the world of righteousness,"⁴⁰ through the mission of the Comforter. It is thus that the effect of Our Lord's Ascension is explained by St. Cyril in a passage already referred to. When speaking of Our

³⁹ Ephes. iv. 8, with Psalm lxviii. 18.

⁴⁰ St. John, xvi. 8.

Lord's words to Mary Magdalen, "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father :—" he says, Our Lord

"forbids the approach of Mary, because she had not yet received the Spirit," inasmuch as before His Ascension, "the Spirit had not yet been given to mankind by the Father through Him." And "hence," he says, "has the Church taken its pattern. Therefore we exclude from the Holy Table those who acknowledge Our Lord's Divinity, and have already professed the faith, that is, those who are catechumens, but have not yet been enriched with the gift of the Holy Ghost. For He does not dwell in those who are not yet baptized. But when they have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, then nothing hinders them from touching also Our Saviour Christ. Therefore to those who desire to partake of the Mystical Eucharist, the ministers of the Divine Mysteries proclaim, '*Holy things for holy persons*,' teaching that the participation of that which is sacred befits those who are sanctified by the Spirit."⁴¹

To the same purpose is a statement of Pope Innocent, when writing against the Pelagians. Those persons, he says, who maintain that children "without regeneration" have that life which is conferred by eating the Flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His Blood, "seem to me to wish to destroy Baptism, since they proclaim them to possess that" (*i. e.* the Flesh of Christ) "which ought not to be conferred upon them, as is believed, except through Baptism."⁴² St. Augustin, among whose letters this passage is preserved, explains it to mean, that to eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, is a thing "which none certainly except the baptized can do."⁴³ And so he says to Julianus, "whether you will or no, you are compelled to

⁴¹ S. Cyril, A. in Joan. lib. xii. vol. iv. p. 1086.

⁴² S. Aug. Epis. clxxxii. 5.

⁴³ Ib. Epis. clxxxvi. 29.

admit that it is to the regenerate that this food and this cup belongs." ⁴⁴

Baptism, then, is the first qualification for the Holy Eucharist; but it is the first only. Its purpose is to establish a spiritual connexion between the soul and the Humanity of the Second Adam, whereby we may be made members of His Mystical Body, and thus be engrafted into the Divine nature. But if we sin, as all men sin, after Baptism, this connexion is relaxed, if it is not broken. It is relaxed even by those perpetual weaknesses to which the best ⁴⁵ men are liable, and which are inseparable from our fallen nature, until the effects of concupiscence are done away in death, as its guilt was done away by Baptism. It is as a remedy against these daily incursions of sin, that Our Lord has given us His Prayer as a daily means of seeking forgiveness. "On account of those sins of men, which are to be borne with, and which the less they are, are so much the more frequent, God has appointed that during the time when mercy can be found, there shall be in His Church this daily medicine, that we should say, 'forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.' With these words we may wash our faces and come to the altar; with these words we may wash our faces, and communicate in the Body and Blood of Christ." ⁴⁶ St. Ambrose adds the reading of Scripture ("the Apostolical food," as he

⁴⁴ Operis Imp. c. Jul. iii. 38.

⁴⁵ "Non vobis dico, quia sine peccato hic viveris; sed sunt venialia, sine quibus vita ista non est."—*S. Aug. de Symbolo*, sec. 14. Vide in *Psalm.* cxviii. Serm. iii. sec. 2, 3.

⁴⁶ *S. Aug. Sermo. xvii. 5.*

calls it) as a perpetual preparation: "You have the Apostolical food, . . . eat it first, that you may afterwards come to the food of Christ, to the food of the Lord's Body, to the feast of the Sacrament, to that cup by which the affections of the faithful are intoxicated."⁴⁷

But besides those habitual defects which continually require to be remedied—for we are "washed once in Baptism; we are daily washed by prayer"⁴⁸—there are also those positive acts of transgression, against which we pray in the Litany, under the title of "deadly sin." The effect of these, as their name implies, is to break asunder that connexion with Christ on which the life of the soul is dependent, and therefore to disqualify men for the profitable receiving of the Holy Eucharist. For "no one," says St. Ambrose, "receives the food of Christ until he has been first healed."⁴⁹ And since these evils separate men from Christ, they put them out of a state of acceptance or justification. For though the gift of forgiveness was purchased by the one sacrifice of Christ, yet its application depends upon the imparting of the Divine justice; "not of that justice with which God is just, but of that which God gives to men, that men may be just through God."⁵⁰ Now, when the life of the soul has been forfeited through sin, it cannot be recovered by our own efforts, but only through *His* gift by whom it was originally bestowed. So that

⁴⁷ In Psalm. cxviii. Sermon. xv. sec. 28.

⁴⁸ S. Aug. de Symbolo, sec. 14.

⁴⁹ Ex. Evang. Luc. Lib. vi. 70.

⁵⁰ S. August. in Joan. Tract. xxvi. 1.

there would be no such cure for this evil, as the analogy of the Christian Covenant requires, unless God had "left power to His Church to absolve all sinners."⁵¹ For by the Church's office, by the ministry of absolution, and the power of the keys, the relation of man to Christ is renewed, even as it was originally bestowed in Holy Baptism. "Everywhere is the order of the mystery preserved," says St. Ambrose, "that first the medicine should be administered to men's wounds by the remission of sins, and afterwards the food of the celestial table should abound for them."⁵² It was understood, of course, that repentance and faith, as well as confession, were needed on the part of the offender, but the idea that after the commission of deadly sin, men might restore themselves to their position in the Body of Christ by an act of their own minds, without the intervention of the Church's office, is wholly at variance with the belief of the ancient Church. "Three ways there are," says St. Augustine, "in which sins are remitted in the Church; in Baptism, in prayer, in the greater humiliation of penitence." And this penitence was always imposed by the Church's sentence: "take care," he writes to the Catechumens, "not to commit those things for which it is necessary that you should be separated from Christ's Body: from which event may God deliver you."⁵³

⁵¹ Office for Visitation of Sick.

⁵² S. Ambrose Ex. Evang. Luc. lib. vi. 71.

⁵³ De Symbolo, 15, 14. The Church of England supposes remitting grace to be conferred through the general Absolution in the Daily Prayers,

Baptism, then, is that act by which Almighty God vouchsafes to qualify men for the Holy Eucharist; and their right is maintained by a life of habitual confession, meditation, and prayer. Neither can this right be regained by those who fall into deadly sin after Baptism, except through that authority which it has pleased God to entrust to His Church, and which is exercised through priestly absolution. Thus do men acquire and retain that relation to Christ, on which depends the life of the soul. Thus does every qualification for the Holy Eucharist resolve itself finally into one, that the receiver must continue to hold communion with God through the Spirit. And therefore there can be no profitable Eucharist, unless men are members of that true Church, which is cemented into one mystical Body by the Spirit. So that the first disciples are described as men who “continued steadfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers.” For “how can men suppose that Christ is with their assemblies, if they are assembled out of Christ’s Church?”⁵⁴ The elements, indeed, may be truly consecrated, but how can men profit by the gift, unless they are partakers of that heavenly life which flows forth from the Head into all members of His Body? The Divine food may be administered, but where will be the capacity to be nourished? “There is nothing,”

and in the Communion Office; though she has provided a form of more authoritative efficacy for the case of those who have made specific confession. Vide an Art. on Maskell on Absolution, *Christian Remembrancer*, A.D. 1849.

⁵⁴ S. Cyprian de Unitate, p. 183.

therefore, “which a Christian ought so much to fear as to be separated from the Body of Christ. For if he is separated from the Body of Christ he is not a member of His; if he is not Christ’s member he is not animated by His Spirit. And ‘if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His.’”⁵⁵ “The faith, therefore, of the Church must first be inquired into, in which if Christ dwells, it must be accepted undoubtingly.”⁵⁶ And when it is thus accepted, all the individual graces—faith, hope, and charity—find their appropriate object in the Eucharist, which it is authorized to convey. “He, who wishes to live, finds in it where he may live—he finds whence he may live. Let him approach, let him believe, let him be incorporated, that he may be quickened. Let him not shrink from that which is the bond of the members; let him not be a corrupt member, which deserves to be cut off, or a deformed member, of which men are ashamed; let him be fair, fit, healthful; let him adhere to the Body; let him live to God by God’s help; let him labour now on earth, that hereafter he may reign in heaven.”⁵⁷

Secondly—So much respecting the first caution, that the process by which Christ’s Body and Blood act upon the receiver, is spiritual and not physical. A second remains, that the union which is thus effected between the receiver and Christ is accord-

⁵⁵ S. August. in Joan. Tract. xxvii. 6.

⁵⁶ S. Ambros. Expos. Evan. Luc. lib. vi. 68.

⁵⁷ S. August. in Joan. Tract. xxvi. 13.

ing to the law of *love*, not the law of *personality*. It has been stated to be the ultimate purpose of the Holy Eucharist, to bring about so intimate an union between Christ and His people, that they may be "members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones." Now there may seem a danger, lest this crowning truth of the Christian system should border too closely upon the error of Pantheism. For let the individual responsibility of man be forgotten, and his nature be supposed to be altogether swallowed up in that of God, and what results but a bewildering confusion of all substances; and a belief either that the Deity is everything, or that nothing is Divine? Against this error therefore it is necessary to guard; and to point out, not only that the ancient belief of the Church has no tendency towards Pantheism, but that it is the very antidote by which that tendency is corrected.

Pantheism is that system of thought, which loses sight of the wide gulf which separates God and man—the Creator and the created—the finite and the Infinite. There are two sides, therefore, from which this error may arise: either the Creator may be brought down to the level of His works, or the creature lifted up to the level of the Creator. The first has been the more besetting error of ancient, the last of modern days. Those philosophers who supposed *immensity* alone to make up the nature of God, had no means whereby to discriminate Him from that material creation, to

which our thoughts can assign no limits. This was the inherent error of those Cosmogonies, which were invented by the philosophers of the Ionian school, and which maintained their ground in a measure, even after Socrates had laid a truer and deeper foundation for philosophy in the moral consciousness of man. Now, as this was to bring down God to the level of His works, so a corresponding effect has followed, when men have assigned those conditions to the *works* of God, which are characteristic of the *Creator*. When it is laid down as a philosophical axiom, that

“Nature is but a name for an effect,
Whose cause is God.”

it would seem to be implied, that the order of the world arises as a necessary result from the energy of the Supreme Essence, which must needs show itself, according to the law of its existence, in these material results. Now this is really the law, according to which the Ever-blessed Trinity exists. No cause can be assigned for the existence of the Eternal Father, save the necessity of His nature; the Only-Begotten Son is the Eternal Son of the Father by necessary derivation; the Holy Ghost of necessity proceeds eternally from them both: this is the law of their adorable nature, whereby the *manner* is inseparable from the *fact* of their existence. To suppose, then, that the creation exists by necessity likewise, that it is nothing more than the effect of that creative energy which is inseparable from Godhead; that

the Deity could not choose but exhibit Himself in the beings which He has created—is to place the works of God too near to their Maker, and to assign conditions to the finite, which are characteristic of the Infinite. This has been the tendency of various modern systems of philosophy, particularly in Germany, and has been encouraged by that analogy which is observed to exist between the Supreme Essence and the thinking principle in man.

Now this system, under both its forms, has always found its contradiction in the Church's belief, that the Infinite Essence has the true character of a *Personal Being*. The creation, therefore, does not exist by any law of necessity, but by the *will* of God. It was when His unbounded love moved Him to come forth from the abyss of His infinite nature, that He called into existence Heaven and earth. And yet it is necessary to provide for that relation between the Creator and His creatures, for which nature perpetually yearned, and which revelation positively asserts. So that it seems impossible to guard effectually against that perverted notion, which would suppose finite minds to be a necessary efflux from the Infinite original, unless we can assign some other principle, according to which this relation may exist. And such a principle it is, which is exhibited in the Incarnation of Christ. The Second Person in the Blessed Trinity, God the Word, vouchsafed to

enter into relation with the beings whom He had created, through the taking of the manhood into God. Through this act, the key to all mysteries, God and man, the Creator and the creature, were brought into relation. Thus did Eternal Goodness introduce a new harmony into the world, which it had made ; and united men by the law of love, without superseding the law of personality. So that the Deity is not lowered to the level of His works, nor the creature lifted up to the Creator ; but two natures—the Infinite and the finite—have been joined together, in order that the perfections of the one might correct the deficiencies of the other.

The doctrine of the Incarnation, then, as being a perpetual witness that by supernatural gift alone can God and man be united, is the best safeguard against confounding the Creator with His works. Neither does it interfere in any way with the personality of those inferior beings, whose common nature it has purified and exalted. For the bond, by which the new Head of man's race binds His members to one another and to Himself, is that bond of *love* which has its origin in His own nature. It was shown that the process by which the Humanity of Our Lord is communicated to men is spiritual, and not physical. Now *love* is the principle by which spiritual essences act upon each other ; and therefore love must supply the conditions on which the Incarnate Head must be related

to His members. And since sacraments are the channels, by which those gifts which were bestowed in the Incarnation upon humanity at large, are extended to each individual, therefore their effect must be to impart that principle of love, which the one Mediator communicates to His brethren. But since the spiritual essence of man has suffered detriment, in some inscrutable manner, from that corrupted nature which binds it to Adam, it must receive some correspondent benefit from the presence of that new nature which was purified in Christ. There is nothing in this supposition which supersedes the efficacy of that principle of love, which has its dwelling in God, and reproduces itself in those who are united to Him; neither does it militate against that individual responsibility, which is bound up in each man's personal consciousness. It does but suggest the mean whereby love is applied, and whereby conscience acquires increased responsibility. For both these effects follow from that fact of the Incarnation, whereby man's nature was purified by the taking it into God. And both, therefore, are connected with that sacramental Presence of Christ, of which the Incarnation is the cause. For it is because Christ is very Man, and the acts of His ministers are the actions of their Head, and consecration is a real transaction, and His Flesh and Blood are truly present, that the Holy Eucharist is so momentous a blessing.

CHAPTER XIII.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

THE preceding chapters have been addressed to those who recognize the interpretive office of the Primitive Church, and suppose themselves to retain every fundamental principle which she admitted. Such has always been the profession of the Church of England, as avowed in her Canons and Formularies; and her most approved writers have constantly declared, that they believed her to approach the nearest of any Christian community upon earth, to the primitive model. If there should be any point, therefore, of vital importance—anything which goes beyond those variable questions of external regulation, which may fairly be left to every age and nation—anything affecting the foundation of her faith or practice, in which our Church has departed from the maxims of Antiquity, her own principles demand that it should be examined and amended.

Now surely such a case arises from the com-

parison of our present practice with the usage of Antiquity. Not only was the Holy Eucharist daily ministered in the Primitive Church, but its staple worship was the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Congregations which met from week to week without this act, and Churches in which it was solemnized once a quarter, or even once a month, were wholly unknown. The liberty of individual Churches was vindicated by two great writers, St. Jerome and St. Augustin, against those who demanded uniformity in indifferent matters, but the precepts of Scripture, and the rules of the Universal Church, were supposed by both of them to be binding upon all Christians. And by the last, St. Augustin explains himself to mean not merely those things which had been enacted by the Apostles or their successors in Council, but those which were fixed by the practice¹ of the Church throughout the world. The present, therefore, is plainly an instance of discrepancy, which according to primitive rules admits of no justification, since it is at variance in a most grave and momentous particular, not only with the universal judgment of the ancient Church, but also with the acknowledged practice of the Holy Apostles.

It will hardly be disputed that the example of the Apostles, during that short time for which we have any detailed statement of their actions, shows

¹ "Ex auctoritate divinarum Scripturarum et universæ Ecclesiæ, quæ toto orbe diffunditur, consensione."—*S. Aug.* Ep. lv. 27; vide *Id.* sec. 35, Epis. liv. 1; and *S. Jerom.* Ep. lii. ad Lucinium. vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 579.

a daily² Eucharist to be the normal condition of the Church's existence. In the less full account of somewhat later transactions, it is manifest, likewise, that those who were collected on the first day of the week, "came together to break bread." Those, therefore, who reject the authority of the ancient Church, might be expected to feel the more bound to a rule, which, according to the models left us in Scripture, is without exception. But what was the practice of the Primitive Church? It is commonly alleged that as the first fervour of devotion passed away, the frequency with which the Holy Eucharist was administered diminished also, so that since the moral state of ancient times was not likely to be very different from our own, it might be anticipated that the ancient and modern rules respecting the use of this sacrament, would be nearly coincident. And so much must be admitted, that since the Christian communities consisted, in the first instance, principally either of slaves, or of persons whose rank in life did not afford unbroken leisure, such daily assemblies as those at Jerusalem can hardly have been possible. It is not unlikely, therefore, that while the Gospel was as yet emerging from the lowest ranks, the ministration of the Holy Eucharist may have been almost confined to the Lord's Day. Such would seem to have been the case among those whom Pliny³ interrogated in Asia Minor; and though

² Acts, ii. 46.

³ "Stato die." Ep. lib. x. 97.

Justin Martyr may have been referring only to the more solemn assemblies, yet he makes no mention of worship, except on the Lord's Day.⁴ Less than this, however, was never tolerated; neither does there seem to have been any ancient Church, however circumstanced, which thought that its Sunday solemnity could be complete, without the celebration of the Christian mystery.

And no sooner had the first period of oppression past away—no sooner did the Church include persons of leisure in her ranks, and obtain such toleration as sufficed for the performance of common worship—than she returned in great measure to the rule of primitive observance. No doubt, as her numbers increased, there must have been many who could not come together more than once or twice a week, and it seems to have been in reference to such parties that we hear of more solemn assemblies on Saturday and Sunday;⁵

⁴ Apol. i. 67.

⁵ Vide Apost. Const. ii. 59. Socrates speaks of the Holy Eucharist on Saturday as almost universal, *Lib. v. 22*, and again of Saturday and Sunday, as the days wherein assemblies were usually held in the Churches of Constantinople, about the time of St. Chrysostom. But we learn from St. Chrysostom's Homilies at Constantinople, that the Holy Eucharist was offered there daily, and he speaks of men as daily entering where it was celebrated.—*In Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. xvii. 3, 4.* So that there must evidently have been a daily Eucharist; and the statement of Socrates must refer only to the days of general attendance. This may account for the circumstance, that Cassian, as well as the Apostolical Constitutions, speak of the Holy Eucharist as solemnized especially on these days, while they yet contain allusions, which imply it to have been more frequently ministered. Cassian says that the monks in Egypt held no meetings in the day, except on Saturday and Sunday, when the Holy Eucharist was ministered at nine o'clock.—*Instit. iii. 2; Bib. Pat. vii. 24.* Yet he alludes himself to the habit of communicating daily, *Coll. vii. 30*; and he implies that in some cases the prayers before day were followed by the "*celebritas Missæ*;" *Instit. ii. 7.* (This agrees with Tertullian's statement: "*sacramentum autheuticanis catibus sumimus.*"—*De Cor. Mil. 3.*) The Apostolical Constitutions

and on the festivals of the Martyrs; but the *daily* reception of the Holy Eucharist was a prevalent custom among devout people, nor is there a single distinguished man, by whom any other rule is recommended. It is probable that it prevailed before the end of the second century, when Tertullian's reference to those who scrupled to receive the Holy Eucharist on Wednesday and Friday (the two station days), proves that this ordinance was celebrated during the week;⁶ and his own comparison of Our Lord's Body with daily bread, would imply its *daily* celebration.⁷ Moreover, he states that it was offered, as we know from St. Cyprian (Ep. 34, and 37) to have been the case during the next century, on the festivals of the

order Saturday and Sunday to be kept, the one in memory of the Creation, the other of the Resurrection, vii. 23. On those days, therefore, the people are told to come especially to Church, and it is said that on Sunday the sacrifice is always offered, ii. 59. But when the Eucharistic service is described in the same work, there is nothing to intimate that it was confined to these days. An account is given of the manner in which the Church should meet, but without anything which fixes it to one day more than another; and after the saying of prayers, comes the direction, "then let the sacrifice be offered," &c.—*Ap. Con.* ii. 57; and again, viii. 5. And there are directions also to offer it in the cemeteries, and at funerals, vi. 30. And we hear of St. Ambrose's visiting a private person of distinction, "to offer the sacrifice in her house."—*Life, by Paulinus*, p. 3. Epiphanius, indeed, speaks of "solemn assemblies" as instituted by the Apostles four days a week (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 2, 22), and there were places, St. Augustin tells us (*Epis.* liv. 2), where the oblation was only offered once or twice a week. The statement quoted from Cassian makes it not improbable that he referred to places in Egypt; and Socrates says the mysteries were not celebrated on Wednesday or Friday at Alexandria—an omission, which he attributes to the allegorizing tendencies of Origen, v. 22. But so long as the practice of *reservation* continued, this was no hindrance to constant participation; and St. Basil speaks of the reservation of the elements, as particularly prevalent in Egypt, *Epis.* 93. Nor did *reservation* afford the means of reception only, but of celebration also. In the East, the oblation was not made in Lent except on Saturday and Sunday (Council of Laodiceæ, Canon 49); but by the fifty-second Canon of the Council in Trullo, the service was to be performed with the preconsecrated elements.

⁶ De Oratione, 14.

⁷ De Oratione, 6.

martyrs.⁸ In the third century the testimony of St. Cyprian is express, that the custom of the Christian priesthood was "to celebrate sacrifices daily to God."⁹ For "we daily receive the Eucharist as our saving food."¹⁰ And St. Hippolytus had spoken of it somewhat earlier in the century, as "daily prepared on the mystical and divine Table."¹¹

The more full information which we have respecting the fourth century, shows how universal the usage had then become. Eusebius seems to be speaking of the Church at large, when he says that the Christians "celebrated a daily memorial of Our Lord's Body and Blood."¹² St. Gaudentius,¹³ Bishop of Brescia in Italy, speaks of "the representation of Christ's Passion" as "daily" received; and his metropolitan, St. Ambrose, writes—"Christ is ministered to me every day."¹⁴ He is contrasting the Holy Eucharist with the manna in the desert: "Christ is my food, Christ is my drink; the Flesh of God is my food, the Blood of God is my drink." "That true Bread from heaven, the Father has reserved for me. For me has that Bread of God descended from heaven, which gives life to this world. It did not descend for the Jews, it did not descend for the Synagogue; but it has descended for the Church." "Why do you ask Him,

⁸ De Corona Militum, 3.

⁹ Epis. liv. p. 77.

¹⁰ De Oratione Domin. p. 192.

¹¹ Gallandi, ii. 488.

¹² Demost. Evang. ii. 10, p. 37.

¹³ "Quotidie et gerentes in manibus, ore etiam sumentes."—*Bib. Pat. Max.* v. 947.

¹⁴ In Psalm. cxviii. Sermon. xviii. 26.

Jew. to give you that Bread which He gives to all, which He gives *daily*?"¹⁵

That such was the practice of the African Church, as well as of the Donatists, may be inferred from the approving notice of St. Optatus¹⁶ respecting the latter: while in Bethlehem St. Jerome speaks of himself as "drinking Christ's Blood daily" "in His Sacrifices."¹⁷ His statement, that daily participation was the especial rule of the Roman and Spanish Churches,¹⁸ would seem to imply, indeed, that the custom was not equally universal in the East. And this is confirmed by the censure passed both by St. Chrysostom,¹⁹ and by the writer of the work "*De Sacramentis*,"²⁰ upon those who were accustomed to receive only once a year. But this negligence, though frequent, was not universal²¹ even in the East; so that though many abstained from daily participation, the public sacrifice of the Church may have been daily offered. And St. Chrysostom repeatedly affirms that it was. "Do we not offer every day? Certainly we do."²² So that he calls the Holy Eucharist "the daily Sacrifice;"²³ and speaks of Christians as having a "daily memorial in these mysteries."²⁴ The only Father of note who speaks of his own practice as not

¹⁵ S. Ambrose, U. S. 27, 28.

¹⁶ S. Optatus de Schism. Don. ii. 12.—"quotidie a vobis sacrificia con-
diuntur."

¹⁷ Hieron. Hedeblæ. Q. 2, vol. iv. part i. p. 172.

¹⁸ Epis. iii. Ad Lucinium. vol. iv. part ii. p. 579.

¹⁹ In Ephes. Hom. iii. 4.

²⁰ S. Ambros. de Sac. v. 4, 25.

²¹ S. Aug. De Sermonibus in Monte, ii. 26, speaks of "plurimi."

²² Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr. xvii. 3; and vide Hom. adv. Jud. iii. 4.

²³ Hom. iii. 4, ad Ephes.

²⁴ Hom. l. 3. In Matth.

coming up to the common rule is St. Basil, who communicated four times a week, as well as on all Saints' days. But it does not follow that even in Pontus the Holy Eucharist was not celebrated daily, for Saints' days occurred every week, and he says "to communicate every day, and be partaker of the sacred Body and Blood of Christ, is good and profitable."²⁵ So that he exhibits but a slight deviation from that rule, which the leading teachers of the ancient Church recommended to others, as well as practised themselves. And we find the same usage in the next century. St. Maximus says that "the death of Our Lord is celebrated every day, in obedience to His own command;"²⁶ and St. Augustin speaks of Christ as "slain daily for the people in the sacrament."²⁷ He abstained, indeed, from censuring the custom of those places where reception was less frequent, and where the offering was only made once²⁸ or twice a week, but his own judgment is that men "ought to receive daily;"²⁹ for himself, he says, that "the Eucharist is our daily bread:"³⁰ and his daily³¹ homilies appear to have been preached on the occasions of its celebration.

The history of the first four centuries, then, shows that the Church adhered as closely as possible to

²⁵ Epis. xciii. There were "often one or two" Saints' Days "in the same week."—*Bingham*, xiii. 9, 5.

²⁶ De Nat. Sanct. Serm. 78. ²⁷ Epis. xcviii. 9. ²⁸ Epis. liv. 2.

²⁹ Sermo 227.

³⁰ Sermo lvii. 7, lviii. 5, lix. 6, and De Sermone Dom. in Monte, ii. 25.

³¹ Vide Sermo cxxviii. 6, cliv. 1, clv. 1.

the Apostolic usage of the "daily" "breaking of bread." There were times when persecution made daily assemblies impossible, there were places which were wanting in the zeal which maintained them, but the most distinguished Fathers speak of the Holy Eucharist as *daily* offered, and recommend *daily* reception to the faithful. "The oblation which is made to-day, which was made yesterday, which is made every day, is like the one which was made on that sabbath" (*i. e.*, of its institution); "*that* was not more sacred than this is, nor is *this* less weighty than *that* was; but it is ever one and the same, alike awful and saving."³² To trace the custom lower is hardly necessary, for after this time its predominance will scarcely be disputed. It will be enough to quote the words of the great Prelate, to whom England is so largely indebted: "We ought to sacrifice the daily offerings of His Flesh and Blood."³³ And he recommends the example of Cassius, Bishop of Narni, "whose custom was to offer daily sacrifices to God, so that scarce a day of his life passed away, in which he did not offer to Almighty God the appeasing victim."³⁴ And this leads to the thought, how it comes that the custom of our own Church should so little correspond to the advice of its early benefactor. There have not been wanting men in our history, who, as Sulpicius Severus says of St. Martin, "might be compared

³² S. Chrys. Hom. iii. con. Jud. 4, vol. i. p. 611.

³³ S. Gregorii Magni Dialog. iv. 58.

³⁴ In Evan. Lib. ii. Hom. xxxvii. 9.

with the very Apostles." Certainly there have been those who, for singleness of heart and largeness of comprehension, might have sat at the feet of St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. How comes it, then, that among the many generations which have flourished during the three last centuries, there have been none to revive a rule, which has the sanction, not only of Holy Scripture, but of Catholic Antiquity? There have been men of thought among us, and men of activity; men endowed with ample means, and raised to those high positions which qualify them to take the lead, and give a tone to the opinion of their fellows. How comes it, then, that with a professed intention of respecting antiquity, there should be so fundamental a difference between ancient and modern times, and that to return to the scriptural and primitive model should never have been thought of, notwithstanding all the learning, leisure, and zeal, which has existed in the Church of England?

This is the more singular, because the abandonment of the daily Eucharist was evidently not contemplated, when "the Book of Common Prayer" was first promulgated. King Edward's First Book, A.D. 1548, provided for "Daily Communion" in the Cathedral Churches, and contemplated its observance in other places. Directions are given for times "when the Holy Communion is celebrate on the worke day or in private houses;" and the notice is not required to be read above once a

month, "where there is daily communion." With a view, too, to insure its weekly ministration at least, even in Parish Churches, it was ordered that "the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday," and that of the families which are required to defray the charge of the elements, "some one at the least of that house . . . shall receive the Communion with the priest." This order, with a corresponding one respecting Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, professes to have had in view that which had been enjoined by various mediæval canons,³⁵ that the Holy Eucharist should not be celebrated unless there be some person to respond to the priest. "The minister having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnize so high and holy mysteries with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same." The order, however, was only that *some* should communicate with the minister, not that *all present* should be obliged to do so; it was provided only that persons who did not receive should "depart out of the quire," in which those who designed to communicate were to assemble.

But about a year after the publication of King Edward's First Book, Archbishop Crammer abandoned his belief in the Real Presence—a change

³⁵ These canons, however, make no mention of communicating with the priest. They order only that there shall be some one to be *addressed*, and to *respond*. Vide Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, Can. 43, *Harduin*, iv. 1015. The point is fully explained in the 48th Can. of the sixth Council of Paris, A.D. 829, quoted in the Capitularies (Baluzius), vol. i. p. 1137. Vide *Harduin*, vol. iv. p. 1325. And vide the synodical letter of Raterius Bishop of Verona, D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, vol. i. p. 377.

which seems to have been very acceptable to the young king and his favourites. By virtue of the more than Papal power which he assumed, Edward soon superseded the Book which he had formerly sanctioned, and imposed his Second Book of 1552 upon the nation. By this means, as well as by the forty-two Articles which were published the same year, and in like manner without any spiritual sanction, the Zuinglo-Calvinistic system took possession of our Churches. All mention of daily³⁶ communion immediately disappeared; and instead of a reference to "the suffrages and due order," as the ground on which some were to communicate with the priest, it is ordered that "there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a good number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion." Nor was this all. For whereas, according to the previous book, all who were in fellowship with the Christian body might remain in the nave, and communicate in the Church's offering, even if any temporary hindrance prevented them from drawing nearer to the altar, the Second Book of King Edward ordered such persons to go away, and thus excluded them from the Eucharistic Sacrifice, unless they were prepared at the moment to participate in the sacrament. "Rather than ye should so do, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed."

³⁶ That Luther did not appreciate the Real Presence, though he retained it theoretically, may be gathered from his order: "*Missæ autem quotidianæ in universum aboleantur.*"—*De Pius Cærimonîis, Luther's Works*, vol. ii. fol. 399.

This order, to "send the multitudes away," was the cause both of the subsequent small attendance at the Holy Eucharist, and of the infrequency of the rite. For it was soon found, that if every one who was present was obliged to receive on every occasion, it was necessary either to give up the daily Eucharist, or to dispense with the attendance of "the great congregation." Yet the order was natural enough, considering that the ruling party had adopted the Zuinglian theory, and supposed the Holy Eucharist to be merely a commemorative feast. For if Christ's real Presence be denied, the primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice must be abandoned also ; so that to have maintained a spiritual participation in the Offering, would have been to keep up a practice which had lost its meaning. It was only consistent, therefore, to accommodate the usages of the Church to its new doctrines. The service, consequently, was divested of its sacrificial character ; and no longer bore witness, as in early times, to the great event which is transacted at the altar. This was done both by mutilating the prayer of oblation, which had been retained in the Book of 1548, and by placing it after, instead of before, the communion. These changes in the ritual tallied but too truly with the order by which all who were unprepared to receive daily, were excluded from the Church. But that the transition might not be too glaring, a new ritual was provided, which bore some relation to

the past—a ritual which has been described by a recent writer as “the *Missæ Sicca*, neither consecration nor communion, but a mere sham rite, which, most unfortunately, is retained in our own Church, whenever actual celebration does not take place.”³⁷ This would appear less offensive to the Zuinglian party, because their very system is to deprive the Holy Eucharist of its reality, and to resolve it into a mere representation. But the *Missæ Sicca* was allowed to be an abuse even in mediæval times, and it is wholly without ancient authority. For what is the Altar, without the gift by which it is consecrated? Why does the priest stand there, except to minister Christ? What ancient Church, or what early Father, ever thought of solemnizing the Eucharistic rites, unless *He* was present who was the soul of the service? What so signally distinguishes the Jewish from the Christian ritual, as that in the first “the altar sanctifies the gift,” whereas the true gift is that which sanctifies the altar?

This sentence of exclusion, which the Puritan party had introduced in 1552, was withdrawn when the Prayer-Book was first revised by the Church’s representatives, A. D. 1662; and thus it became possible for all who were in the Church’s communion, to take part again on all occasions in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. But the habit of attending, once lost, was not easily recovered. The dislo-

³⁷ “Neale’s History of the Eastern Church,” Gen. Introd. p. 715.

cation, too, of the Eucharistic office, was allowed to continue ; so that the nature and real efficacy of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was not brought out, as it might have been, by the words of the service. And the very beauty and devoutness of the *words*, which had been left, rendered men less alive to the importance of the *acts*, which had been omitted. Not that there were wanting those who saw and regretted the abandonment of the ancient usage. Such was Bishop Overall, to whom we owe the conclusion of the Catechism—the most important testimony which we possess to the reality of both sacraments. His chaplain, Bishop Cosin, quotes the order of the Council of Mayence, that the Holy Eucharist should not be ministered unless persons were present who could respond and be addressed : “ Nullus Presbyter solus Missam cantare valet rectè, ut nobis videtur. Quomodo enim dicet, Dominus vobiscum ? &c.” On which Cosin remarks, “ they say yet, *ut nobis videtur* : fain would they have had the abuse amended, and yet the Communion not neglected for all that. They knew not well whether they should forbid it absolutely and simply, if there were no company ; as indeed *better were it to endure the absence of the people, than for the minister to neglect the usual and daily sacrifice of the Church, by which all people, whether they be there or no, reap so much benefit*. And this was the opinion of my lord and master, Dr. Overall.”³⁸

³⁸ Additional notes to *Nicholls*, p. 53. Cosin refers to the Council of Nice. But the words which he cites occur as the 43rd canon of the Council of Mayence.—*Hard.* iv. p. 1015.

An unwillingness to be entirely separated from the various Protestant communities, among whom the disuse of consecration had involved the denial of the Real Presence, and therefore of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, may in those days have obstructed a return to the primitive usage. But what prevents the attempt at present, among those who believe that the claims of the Church of England depend upon the maintenance of her Catholic character? Why should she not return to that custom of daily Communion, which was authorized both by the Apostles and the Primitive Church, and which has on its side the judgment of all other bodies which call themselves Catholic in Christendom? Now here occurs the practical difficulty, that, according to our present usage, all persons who are unprepared for so frequent a reception of the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, would be excluded from the daily service of the Church. But why should this usage be perpetuated, now that it has lost both its doctrinal significance, and its legislative force? We are neither bound to the Zuinglian theory, by which the validity of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was denied, nor to that law of exclusion which was its practical result. The tacit omission of this order from our Book of Common Prayer, is equivalent to its direct repeal. So that any priest, who could induce his people to give its due prominence to the Eucharistic office, might at once resume the ancient usage: or if it were

thought presumptuous in a priest to take such a step on his own authority, it might plainly be done by any Bishop. For each diocese is an integral portion of the Universal Church ; and every Bishop, therefore, would possess full authority to reform an abuse, which does not depend upon law, but upon custom.

It may be said, indeed, that the clergy are always as willing to minister the Holy Eucharist as their parishioners to receive it ; and therefore that the abuse, if such it be, is the fault of individuals. And the weakness of individuals cannot be imputed as a defect to the collective Church, because it is inseparable from our common nature. But the obligations of the Church of Christ are one thing ; the defects of its individual members are another. That the people should be unprepared for that daily reception of Christ's Body which would render earth most like to heaven ; that the food of angels should be too sacred for their daily meat—this is the fault of those, whose own infirmities exclude them from the full richness of the Gospel feast. The Church does her part, when she daily spreads her board, and invites men to partake it. The manna is daily poured forth around the camp ; it is the fault of individuals if it be not gathered. But their negligence is no reason why she should intermit that continual worship, which it is her office, as a collective body, to render to God. It is her commission, “ that supplications, prayers, intercessions,

and giving of thanks, be made for all men." To omit this would be to neglect her proper task ; just as the frailty of individuals is only her grief ; but any voluntary neglect of public discipline must be her sin. Perhaps it may be thought that this last evil accounts for the other ; that till Church Discipline can be restored, it is impossible to give its due prominence to the Eucharistic office. How can you invite men, it may be said, to daily communion, till the purity of the Christian body is maintained by a stricter discipline ? But on this principle you must forbid a monthly as well as a daily Eucharist ; you must omit prayer, as well as sacrament. For the rules of ancient piety would have excluded notorious offenders, not only from the Church's Eucharistic office, but even from its more solemn prayers. Whatever fault and loss, therefore, may arise from lack of discipline, it can be no reason why the Church should abandon that perpetual worship, which it is her duty and privilege to present.

Now it was the principle of the ancient Church, that this perpetual worship did not attain perfection except in the Eucharistic office ; and nothing less, therefore, was supposed to be the "daily sacrifice" spoken of in Holy Writ. The cessation of "the sacrifice and the oblation," predicted by Daniel (ix. 27), is explained by Primasius to be "the failure of the victim and sacrifice, which is now offered with solemn order in the Church."³⁹ St. Jerome assigns

³⁹ Comment. in Apocalyp. lib. iii. Bib. Pat. x. 315.

the same meaning to Daniel's words : on Daniel viii. 14, he says, "most of our interpreters apply this passage," *i. e.* the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, "to Antichrist, and suppose that the event which happened under Antiochus in type, will happen under him in reality."⁴⁰ And again, he tells us that he translates the term which is employed in Daniel, xi. 31, and xii. 11, by "*juge sacrificium*," and that he considers its intermission to mean, that "Antichrist, getting possession of the world, will forbid the worship of God."⁴¹ Now, by the "*juge sacrificium*," he obviously intends "the victims, which," he says, "are daily offered by the Bishop to God."⁴² St. Chrysostom, too, describes the Holy Eucharist as "the daily sacrifice ;"⁴³ and earlier still, St. Irenæus says, that "the time of Antichrist's tyranny," when "the sacrifice and libation shall be taken away," is that "wherein the saints shall be put to flight, who offer the pure sacrifice to the Lord."⁴⁴ These Fathers believed that a time of persecution would arise, when the public offices of the Christian Church would be everywhere interdicted. For St. Irenæus explains the pure sacrifice to be that "new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offers throughout the whole world to God."⁴⁵

Such passages imply the Holy Eucharist to be that perpetual worship, which it is the Church's

⁴⁰ St. Jerom. vol. iii. p. 1106. ⁴¹ Ib. on Dan. xii. 11, vol. iii. p. 1133, bis.

⁴² Ib. in Tit. i. vol. iv. part i. p. 418.

⁴³ Hom. in Ephes. iii. 4.

⁴⁴ S. Iren. v. 25, 4.

⁴⁵ Ib. iv. 17, 5.

public office to present. So that no negligence in the attendance of the people can be a legitimate ground for its disuse. For it is the Church's function to offer itself continually to God ; and this offering cannot be acceptably presented, except through the merit of that perfect victim, with whom in this service it is identified. This was the reason why the Church's public assembly (*synaxis*) was equivalent, in the language of ancient times, to the Holy Eucharist. "The mysteries," says St. Chrysostom, "which are celebrated at every assembly (*synaxis*), are called the Eucharist."⁴⁶ Whether they met on Sunday or week-day, as we have seen, the custom of the first Christians was to stand at God's altar.⁴⁷ The ground of supplication always was, "how shall we not prevail with God, when that awful Sacrifice lies displayed?"⁴⁸ For except through her union with that sacrifice, the Church felt herself altogether unworthy to appear before God. So that those who proscribed this daily service, and confined its celebration to the occasions, when there were "a good number to communicate with the priest," viewed the Holy Eucharist under an aspect entirely different from that which prevailed in early ages. They must have forgotten that the Eucharistic Sacrifice was a substantive act, whereby the Intercession of the Great High Priest was perpetually applied for the benefit of His brethren. They failed, therefore, to

⁴⁶ In St. Matt. Hom. xxv. 3, vol. vii. p. 310.

⁴⁷ Tertullian de Oratione, 14.

⁴⁸ S. Chrysos. on Philipp. Hom. iii. 4.

do full justice to the work of that Ascended Head, who not only was, but “*is* the Saviour of the body.” For they excluded His own availing participation from His people’s worship, and perceived not that it was the merit which He had acquired by the sacrifice of the Cross, which gives value to the sacrifice of the Altar.

The subject before us is so important, that it seems necessary to meet the objections which the previous statements are likely to encounter. First—It is sometimes said, that to allow men to take part in the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, on occasions when they are prevented from taking part in the sacrament, is contrary to the analogy supplied by the sacrificial observances of the Levitical Ritual, in which the custom was that those who “partook of the altar,” should “eat of the sacrifice.” Secondly—such a permission is said not only to be destitute of primitive sanction, but to be directly condemned by the early Fathers. Thirdly—it is asked, what advantage could accrue from it, even if it were permitted.

First—It is admitted, on all hands, that in the Holy Eucharist there is a feast upon a sacrifice. This was implied in its original appointment, and St. Paul refers to it as a reason for abstaining from the sacrificial banquets of the heathen. But it has been shown that the Holy Eucharist consists not only of a feast upon a sacrifice, but likewise of a sacrifice itself. Its full and perfect participation,

therefore, implies no doubt that men should avail themselves of both its purposes. But it is a further question, whether its purposes are so united, that it is impossible to employ it in the one relation, unless it be employed simultaneously in the other. Is it contrary either to natural piety or to an express command, to join in the sacrifice without going on to the sacrament; or to partake the sacrament without having been present at its oblation? It is clear that the last was not objected to by the early Christians, for it was their established usage, to send that which had been consecrated to those who were debarred from attendance at the sacrifice.⁴⁹ Neither does there seem any reason in the nature of the case, why those who are hindered from obtaining the full benefits which the Church has to offer, should be prohibited from their partial enjoyment. We must see, then, whether such partial employment of the Holy Eucharist is forbidden by the laws of the Church, or contradicts those principles which were foreshadowed by the synagogue; whether it is at variance either with the nature of Jewish types or Christian sacraments.

Now it would not, after all, be of any great moment, if the rules of the Mosaic ritual had in this case been opposed to the custom of the Church, because the sacrifices of the Law were eaten as bodily food, and not for spiritual nourishment. Yet some general analogy may be anticipated between the two dispen-

⁴⁹ Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 67.

sations. And so far as the Law supplies any guidance on the subject, it not only does not militate against the principles which have been laid down, but altogether confirms them. The analogy of the Jewish service would certainly require, as was enjoined by the twelfth Council of Toledo, that the Holy Eucharist should never be solemnized, without being partaken by the consecrating priest. “*Hi qui sacrificantes non edunt, rei sunt dominici sacramenti.*”⁵⁰ For it has been shown that in cases in which the Jewish priest acted as a proper mediator, he was required to eat of the offering (p. 362); and that one characteristic of the Christian sacrifice is, that it supersedes those provisions, by which the eating of the victim was prevented in cases in which the Jewish priests were insufficient mediators. But when we turn from the priest to the people, we find nothing which would indicate the same necessity. To all other parties, except the sacrificing priest, the eating of the victim appears to have been optional. The priestly family discharged a mediatorial office towards the nation at large, and therefore all its males *might* eat of the inferior class of sin-offerings.⁵¹ But there was no provision which compelled all of them to partake. And as respects the peace-offerings, in which those who presented them might share, the eating them appears to have been allowed, but not commanded. The characteristic act was the pre-

⁵⁰ “Quotiescunque sacrificans corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi Domini nostri in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi se participem præbeat.”—*Con. Tolet.* xii. Can. 5, *Harduin*, iii. p. 1722.

⁵¹ Leviticus, vi. 29.

senting the victim before God : "He shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering, and kill it at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."⁵² Supposing the offerer to have become ceremonially unclean before the sacrificial feast could be celebrated, he was disqualified from eating of it:⁵³ but there is no indication that his previous act of oblation was invalidated. "For the overplus," says Josephus, "they that offer the sacrifice *may* eat of it during two days."⁵⁴ And all which the law enjoined was, that the residue which remained uneaten on the third day should be burned with fire.⁵⁵

There is nothing, then, in the analogies derivable from the ordinary sacrifices of the Jewish law, whether we look at burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, or peace-offerings, which would afford any presumption that in the Holy Eucharist the sacrifice and the sacrament cannot lawfully be dissociated. No doubt the union of both is essential to the full efficacy of this ordinance; and yet each of them may in itself be a substantive action. But there remains the case of the Passover, which, though not included in any of the previous classes, is yet called a sacrifice in Scripture,⁵⁶ and was so considered by the Jews. Now, in this, the *eating* of the victim was plainly the characteristic act, from which it might be supposed that the benefit of the ordinance could not be dissociated. Moreover, the Passover is the rite which bears especial relation to the mys-

⁵² Leviticus, iii. 2, 8, 13.

⁵⁵ Leviticus, vii. 17.

⁵³ Id. vii. 20.

⁵⁴ Jewish Ant. iii. 9.

⁵⁶ Exodus, xii. 27 ; xxxiv. 25.

teries of the Gospel; for "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us."

It must be observed, however, as respects the Passover, that it is only by a general analogy that it appears to have been called a sacrifice, and that it does not strictly answer to the conditions by which sacrifices were distinguished. That which was directly commanded was that it should be *eaten*: there is no direction respecting the offering it before God in the manner commonly prescribed respecting sacrifices. So that though all males were ordered to eat it, yet this was a specific appointment, and not intended to give validity to the previous oblation. And even as regards the Passover, considering it as a sacrifice, its benefit was not confined to those by whom it was partaken. For, taken under this aspect, it must be thought, like that first Passover which was celebrated in Egypt, to have been a sort of national sacrifice of thanksgiving. Now there is no injunction in Scripture that women should eat it, and their doing so was held to be optional⁵⁷ by the Jews. Moreover, it was the custom of the Jews to form themselves into small sodalities, consisting of ten or more persons, for whose common use a lamb was slain. Now it was allowable for persons to be included in these sodalities, who from extreme age, from sickness, or from youth,⁵⁸ were unable to partake of the lamb.

⁵⁷ Gemara Hieros. Kidduschin. "Pascha mulierum ex arbitrio."—*Ugolini*, vol. xxx. p. 456; and *De Paschate*, cap. viii. *Ugolini*, xvii. 892.

⁵⁸ Mischnah. Pesachim. cap. v. sec. 3.

It was held by the Jews to be illegal⁵⁹ to offer the lamb for a sodality, in which none were able to partake of it; but the incapacity of some⁶⁰ members was no reason why it should not be offered for the sodality at large. Some of the Jewish authorities went so far as to say that if the lamb fell short, so that none remained for a person who was legally bound to eat the Passover, he was exempted from the duty of repeating the rite,⁶¹ because the blood of the first victim had been sprinkled in his name; but it is clear on all hands that the benefits of the ordinance, regarding it as a sacrifice for the nation at large, were not supposed to be confined to those by whom it was eaten.

Secondly—So far, then, as we can found an analogy on the rules of the Synagogue, we should expect that the full blessing of the Holy Eucharist is to be gained by participation both in the feast and in the sacrifice, but that those who are debarred the one, are not of necessity to be debarred the other. Let us see next what is to be gathered from the practices of the Church. We may first take our position towards the close of that period, in which the Church's authority was as yet unimpaired by

⁵⁹ "Si fuerit societas centum, qui non possint comedere in quantitate olivæ, non mactant pro illis; et non faciunt societatem mulierum, servorum, et puerorum."—*Genara Hicor, de Paschate* cap. viii. *Ugolini*, xvii. p. 890, 902.

⁶⁰ "Pro comedentibus suis, et pro non comedentibus suis; pro annumeratis, et pro non annumeratis; pro circumcisis, et præputiatis; pro immundis et mundis, est legitimum."—*Ib.* cap. v. p. 790; vi. 824. "Quomodo pro non comedentibus? Si mactaverit nomine ægroti, senis, qui non possint comedere in quantitate olivæ."—*Ib.* p. 806.

⁶¹ "R. Nathan dicit; non tenentur facere Pascha secundum, quia jam pro iis aspersus fuit sanguis."—*Tosapha*, vii. 2. *Ugolini*, xvii. 662.

the division between East and West, and before the ancient doctrine respecting the Holy Eucharist had ever been disputed. At that time, the eighth century of the Christian era, we have full information respecting the usual mode of public worship. Independently of the Liturgical documents which are still in existence, the decrees of Councils show us the three following particulars. First—That the Holy Eucharist was attended, or was meant to be attended, by the mass of the laity, weekly at least, if not more frequently: Secondly—That they were expected to remain till the end of the service: Thirdly—That frequent reception was thought desirable, but that they were not *required* to communicate except on special occasions.

All these particulars may be gathered from the interesting Capitularies issued to his clergy by Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, towards the end of this century. Every Christian was to come every Sunday with his oblations to the Eucharistic service (canon 24);⁶² he must hear the Eucharistic office and the sermon (46), and the priest was not allowed to celebrate it unless there were persons standing round, whom he could address, and by whom he could be answered. (7) But the laity were ordered to receive on the Sundays in Lent, and on certain other great days, when “*penitus ab omnibus communicandum*.”⁶³ (41) and they are exhorted

⁶² Harduin, iv. p. 917.

⁶³ This canon appears verbatim in the directions given by Amalarius to his clergy in the next century.—*D'Achery's Spic.* vol. iii. p. 333.

to prepare themselves for the occasion by special self-denial and prayer. (44) It is clear, then, that to take part in the sacrifice without taking part in the sacrament, was a regular custom in the eighth century. And the fact is confirmed by the canons of numerous Councils held under the patronage of Charlemagne, at the end of the century, or soon afterwards. On the Ember days, it is said, "*Veniunt omnes ad Ecclesiam hora nona cum Litanis ad Missarum sollemnia.*"⁶⁴ The presence of those who were not expected to communicate is directly recognised;⁶⁵ and the benefits to be derived from the oblation affirmed.⁶⁶

As we ascend from this point towards the earliest age, we find that the same laws reappear in the Excerpta of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732, and in the Penitentiary of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668. The first orders the clergy to celebrate the Holy Eucharist daily (No. 55⁶⁷), while the laity are ordered to communicate at least thrice a year (No. 38): the second is express in directing men to stay till the Eucharistic office is ended.⁶⁸ The same usage had been sanctioned by the Council of Agde, and two Councils of Orange, a

⁶⁴ Coun. of Mayence, can. 34, Hard. iv. p. 1015.

⁶⁵ "Presbyteri omnino admonendi sunt ut cum sacra Missarum sollemnia peregerint, atque communicaverint, pueris aut aliis quibuscumque personis adstantibus Corpus Domini indiscrete non tribuant."—*Third Council of Tours*, Can. 19. Hard. iv. p. 1025.

⁶⁶ "Oblationem quoque et pacem in ecclesia facere jugiter admoneatur populus Christianus, quia ipsa oblatio sibi et suis magnum remedium est animarum."—*Council of Mayence*, Canon 44, Hard. iv. p. 1016.

⁶⁷ Thorpe's Ancient Laws of England, vol. ii. p. 105; Wilkins, i. 104.

⁶⁸ No. 48, Thorpe, ii. 58.

century previously. The Eucharistic Service is ordered to be attended by the laity every Sunday; ⁶⁹ they are forbidden to go out till it is over, or at least till the bishop had given the blessing, which was not pronounced till after consecration; ⁷⁰ while the Council of Agde directs (canon 18) that they shall communicate three times a year. The intention with which these orders were given is fully explained in the sermons of St. Cæsarius of Arles, who presided at the Council of Agde, A. D. 506. He exhorts his people to attend every Sunday and make their oblations for the altar; ⁷¹ he bids them stay till after the consecration, and explains the benefits of taking part in the oblation; ⁷² while he contemplates an especial preparation before they communicate. ⁷³

A hundred years before the Council of Agde we come to the age of the great Fathers of the Church. And this is the most important step in our ascent from the eighth century to primitive times, because Bingham fixes upon it as the era of a change in the practice of the Church. He seems to have considered, that the custom of allowing men to partake in the sacrifice when they did not partake in the Sacrament, was introduced between the Council of Agde and the time of St. Chrysostom. This opinion is grounded upon a passage in St. Chrysostom's third

⁶⁹ Conc. Agath. 47, Hard. ii. 1003.

⁷⁰ Con. Agath. 47. Council Aurel. i. Can. 26; Hard. ii. 1011. Conc. Aurel. iii. can. 29. Hard. ii. 1428.

⁷¹ Appendix to S. Augus. vol. v. Sermon. 265, 3; 266, 2.

⁷² Ib. Sermon. 281, 2; 173, 4; 174, 3.

⁷³ Ib. Sermon. 142, 7.

Homily on the Ephesians, in which he arraigns the conduct of those who attended the Holy Eucharist at Easter, or some other great feast, while they lived carelessly during the rest of the year. "Observe," he says, "the vast inconsistency of the thing. At the other times ye come not, no, not though often ye are clean; but at Easter, however flagrant an act ye may have committed, ye come." The fault appears to have been prevalent in his day; in an early Homily⁷⁴ at Antioch he complains, that it was the custom of many to communicate on festivals, rather than when they were themselves prepared. In his Homily on the Ephesians, therefore, he puts the following dilemma: if men are living in sin they ought to be excommunicated, and so interdicted from taking part in the more solemn prayers; but if they are not living in sin they ought to communicate. "Thou hast declared thyself to be of the number of them that are worthy, by not departing with them that are unworthy. Why stay, and yet not partake of the table?"

It is plain enough from this address, that the regular attendance which had existed in the Primitive age had been generally abandoned: the Church and the world had interpenetrated and influenced one another; so that the same Homily says: "in vain is the daily sacrifice, in vain do we stand before the altar; there is no one to partake." But it

⁷⁴ De Baptismo Christi, vol. ii. p. 373.

is essential to Bingham's argument to show, not only that St. Chrysostom complained of the abuse, but what was the nature of the remedy which he suggested. Though he could not have wished all the Christians of Antioch or Constantinople to communicate daily in their existing state, he doubtless wished and urged them to qualify themselves for such a blessing. But what did he propose in the meantime? Did he only tell them that they ought all to communicate; or did he exclude those from the sacrifice who excluded themselves from the sacrament? Was his complaint that they took part in the one, or that they abstained from taking part in the other? No doubt some of his words might be taken either way; but his concluding remarks show that his complaint was not for what men did, but for what they left undone. "That I may not then be the means of increasing your condemnation, I entreat you *not to forbear coming*, but to render yourself worthy both of being present and of approaching."⁷⁵

St. Chrysostom could hardly have used these words, if his object had been not to induce all to communicate, but to exclude those who were negligent in doing so, from the Christian sacrifice. If this last had been his intention, he would surely have observed, that the one of these duties could not be performed without the simultaneous performance of the other. For this would have been

⁷⁵ Hom. iii. 5. in Ephes. vol. xi. p. 24.

the legitimate argument to employ against those who attempted to separate them. But on this point he says not a syllable : his whole argument is addressed merely to the duty of receiving, if men were in a state of grace. He is reasoning against those, who were contented to come once or twice a year to the Holy Eucharist. Such persons, he says, cannot be living such lives as fit them to take part in the Church's prayers. So that it by no means follows that he would have spoken so severely of those who commonly were communicants, if some temporary circumstances had rendered them unprepared for daily participation.

But it may be said, St. Chrysostom's words represent prayer and Eucharist to be so completely identical, that those who were unprepared for the one must be unprepared for the other. "Why stay, and yet not partake of the table? I am unworthy, thou wilt say. Then art thou also as unfit for that communion thou hast had in the prayers." This might be true enough of those who attended only once a year, but that St. Chrysostom did not consider the two things to be entirely equal, is obvious from his own conduct. For when some monks who had been expelled from Alexandria by Theophilus came to Constantinople, "he would not give them communion in the mysteries," it is said, "till their case had been judicially decided;" but he allowed them to partake in the prayers.⁷⁶ Clearly, then, he must have supposed

⁷⁶ Socrates, vi. 9. The same may be inferred from St. Chrys. Hom. ix.

that some difference existed between the one and the other, though he might think that men were unfit to take part in the prayers, who were habitual neglecters of the sacrament. And such was the judgment of the contemporary Council of Toledo (A. D. 400), which, while ordering the clergy to attend the daily sacrifice, imposes penitence on "laymen who *never* communicate."⁷⁷

These considerations render it evident that St. Chrysostom's words were not intended to exclude men from the sacrifice, but to bring them to the sacrament. Neither does any other supposition accord with the fact, that a hundred years later it was an universal custom to attend the one, when men were unprepared to attend the other. How should such a custom have arisen, without leaving traces of its origin? The universal tendency of human affairs is to fall back and decay; and nothing is more natural, therefore, than that the daily reception of the Christian mysteries, which had prevailed during the fervour of the Apostolic age, should insensibly cease to be the rule of ordinary Christians. Nor is it strange that when the Church had enjoyed a hundred years more of worldly patronage, this negligence should excite less indignation than it did in "the glorious preacher,"

"With soul of zeal and lips of flame."

on the Statutes. (Ox. Transl. p. 159.) He there speaks to persons as present at the Sacrifice, who could not be designing to communicate, inasmuch as they were not fasting.

⁷⁷ Conc. Tol. i. Canon 13, Hard. i. p. 991.

It was probable, therefore, that the neglect of the sacrament, which had been *tolerated* in the time of St. Chrysostom, would become almost the established *rule* in the time of Cæsarius. (Though it should be observed that the Council of Agde required reception at least three times a year. Can. 18.) But a new habit of attending the sacrifice could not have been introduced in this manner without observation. How should it have arisen unless it had been recommended by Bishops, and enjoined by Councils? To impose a new duty to which men have been unaccustomed, is not so easy as to allow an old one to fall into neglect. How came this new rule not to be noticed in those great Councils which were held during the middle of the fifth century, nor by those distinguished men, who had been formed in the school of St. Augustin, and who lived to its close? The neglect of which St. Chrysostom complained, may have become more inveterate during another century; but the interval does not suffice for the silent introduction of a custom, which previously had been wholly unknown.

The conclusion is, then, that those careless members of the Church, who were attracted by St. Chrysostom's preaching, though they were sharply rebuked for communicating only once or twice a year, were not excluded from the daily offering of the Christian sacrifice. Indeed, it has been shown that St. Chrysostom granted this permission as a

privilege, to those to whom he was unable to grant full communion. And in one of his homilies, where he complains of those who came to hear the sermon, and departed before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, he dwells exclusively upon the fact that "Christ was about to exhibit Himself in the sacred mysteries,"⁷⁸ and that superior efficacy attended public prayer. So that his object must have been to induce men to take part in the sacrament; but if this could not be effected, not to exclude them from the sacrifice. And if such was the usage in the time of St. Chrysostom, it must have been the usage during the two centuries which preceded his birth; since it is admitted on all hands, that whatever diminution there may have been in the earnestness of her members, yet that no alteration had as yet taken place in the principle of the Church's ritual.

Now, before proceeding to trace the subject into this earlier period, it is necessary to make two observations—first, that the Church's rule undoubtedly was, that all Christians should take part both in the sacrament and the sacrifice—secondly, that none except members of her communion were allowed to be present at either. The first is obvious, not only from such statements as those which have been quoted from St. Chrysostom; but likewise from the eighth Apostolical Canon, which sentences a clerk to suspension if he does not com-

⁷⁸ De Incomprehens. iii. 6, vol. i. p. 469.

municate when the oblation is offered, unless he can assign a sufficient reason. And therefore, when a sort of model service is described in the Apostolical Constitutions, (ii. 57, viii. 13,) the Church is supposed to consist exclusively of devout persons, who would all exert their full privilege of receiving Our Lord's Body and Blood. But again, none who were out of the Church's communion were allowed to be present. For all ancient Liturgies were distinct in requiring, that those who were not communicants should leave the Church before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. But to be communicants, it was not necessary to receive every day: this may have been the custom in the age of the Apostles; but it was never enjoined. The only rules imposed upon the laity were such as those of the Council of Sardica (can. 11), that "men should be excluded from Church-membership if they absented themselves from Church for three weeks together;"⁷⁹ or again if they came to Church, but "*never* communicated." [First Council of Toledo, can. 13.] Hence, says Waterland, Infants were considered in one sense to be "communicants, though they lived not to partake of the Eucharist."⁸⁰

⁷⁹ The Council in Trullo, which re-enacted this order, can. 80, says nothing of communicating, but only orders the laity to *come together* once in three Sundays. So Balsamon understands it: he speaks of the laity as ordered to meet and *pray together*. *Beveridge*, vol. i. p. 250. Theodore, in his *Penitentiary* (44), seems to suppose that they were obliged to *communicate* (*Thorpe*, vol. ii. p. 51); though he may possibly have used the word in that more general sense of communicating in prayers, in which it was employed by the Council of Nice. *Canons* 11, 13, &c.

⁸⁰ Inquiry concerning Infant Communion, works, vol. ix. p. 488.

When it is maintained then, that in the ancient Church men took part in the sacrifice who did not take part in the sacrament, the assertion must be qualified by the two preceding considerations. The custom, that is, was *permitted* rather than *enjoined*: this partial employment of the Church's ritual was only a concession to the weakness of those, who fell short of the full vigour of the Christian life. But it was a concession of which none might avail themselves but those who were members of the Church: it was an indulgence which was awarded to those who continued to be her children. And with these qualifications, there is every reason to suppose that the practice had existed from the beginning. For it must be observed, First—that the ministration of the Holy Eucharist appears to have been the only public ritual coeval with the Church. Secondly—that it was not contemplated that any one who was in communion with the Church should go out before the conclusion of the service. Thirdly—that we find rules to have been laid down in some places which rendered it impossible that every one should communicate daily, and that it is indisputable that many who did not communicate were allowed to remain. Fourthly—that there are no ancient canons of general obligation, which order either that every one should receive, or that those who were unprepared to receive, should go away.

First—We hear of no public ritual⁸¹ in the first ages, except that which was connected with the Eucharistic Office. So it certainly was in the Apostle's time. "The disciples came together to break bread." And so does St. Paul speak of the Holy Eucharist as that which men might be expected to solemnize, "when ye come together into one place." The case was the same, according to Justin Martyr, in the next century. The only public gathering which he⁸² describes, is that for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; and this service was solemnized, according to Tertullian, both on the Station⁸³ days and in their nocturnal assemblies.⁸⁴ No doubt it must have been the custom of Christians from the earliest ages, to meet continually for the purpose of prayer and psalmody (as St. Basil describes, Ep. 207), but no traces of anything resembling a *public ritual*, except the Eucharistic Liturgies, have come down to us from the three first centuries. The only exception to this statement is the daily morning and evening prayer, which occurs in the eighth Book of the Apostolical Constitutions, cap. xxxv. &c. It must be observed, however, that this form of daily prayer is not stated, even in the Constitutions, to

⁸¹ This circumstance, together with the fact that the Holy Eucharist was then ministered daily, is the ground for thinking that the word *λειτουργούντων* ("as they ministered to the Lord"), Acts, xiii. 2, must refer to the Eucharistic Service.

⁸² Apol. i. 65.

⁸³ De Oratione, xiv.

⁸⁴ De Corona Mit. iii. This seems to have been the case in Pliny's time; for he associates the "*sacramentum*" with the early assembly of the Christians, though evidently ignorant of its nature: while the Agape was celebrated later in the day.—*Epis.* lib. x. 97.

be intended as a substitute for the Eucharistic office ; it seems rather designed to be an additional form of devotion, for the use of those who worshipped together several times a day. Indeed, if it had been a substitute for the Eucharistic office, by whom could it have been employed ? Not by St. Cyprian before the Council of Nice, nor after it by St. Chrysostom in the East, or St. Ambrose in the West ; not by St. Augustin or St. Jerome ; for it has been shown that the offering of the Holy Eucharist was their daily employment. These prayers may have been meant, then, to answer the same end with the devotional offices, which assumed a definite shape, when monastic institutions arose towards the middle of the fourth century, and of which we have an account from St. Basil in the fourth,⁸⁵ and from Cassian in the fifth century. So that we must conclude, that they were intended to afford employment to those who could give their whole time to God's service, but that they never took the place of the great act of social worship.

Besides, the Apostolical Constitutions are nothing but the literary exercise of some private person, who has presumed to put his own words into the mouths of the Apostles. The book was rejected, therefore, by the second canon of the Council in Trullo, and the prayers and usages which it contains, are merely the suggestions of an individual. So that its liturgical services have no claim to rank with those

⁸⁵ Ep. 207, and Epiphanius *adv. Hær.* iii. 2, 23, vol. i. p. 1106.

which express the usages and faith of Apostolical Churches, although they are a valuable witness to the opinions of the age in which they were composed. But if we would know what was the mode of worship in the third or fourth centuries, we must look to the public Liturgies. Now their very existence testifies to the truth of St. Chrysostom's assertion, that "Our Passover is the offering and sacrifice which is made at every assembling."⁸⁶ For the word *Liturgy*, or service, when applied to a sacred or mystical purpose, gradually became identified with the Eucharistic Office; neither is any other handed down from early times. So that it was impossible to join in common worship during the period which preceded the birth of St. Chrysostom, without participating in the Eucharistic action, because no other solemn and public ritual existed in the Church.

Secondly—The preceding statement renders it evident, that those who attended public worship must have joined in the Eucharistic Office. It is equally certain, that no one in communion with the Church was allowed to depart till the service was concluded. So much may certainly be gathered from the 9th Apostolical canon, and the 2nd canon of the Council of Antioch, whatever else they may imply. The command may not have been always regarded; and St. Chrysostom complains both of those who went away directly after the sermon,⁸⁷ and of

⁸⁶ "καθ' ἑκάστην σὺναξιν."—*Hom. adv. Jud.* iii. 4.

⁸⁷ *Hom. de Incomprehensibili*, iii. 6, vol. i. p. 469. In the time of Cæ-

those who went out as soon as they had themselves communicated.⁸⁸ Yet the Rubrics of the ancient Liturgies prove that this must have been a local corruption; for it appears that those who went out were formally dismissed by the officers of the Church, and none were thus dismissed except those who had not yet been admitted, or who were excluded from the Church's communion. First it was the catechumens, who were not baptized; then the various classes of penitents. In every case the deacon proclaimed, "Depart catechumens;" or "Depart those who are in penance." "Let no one remain who is not in communion." So that no room remains for the departure of those who were not under some sentence. And the full provision which is made for what should happen, and the exact rules by which it was defined, show that if any omitted to remain, it must have been an irregular and unlicensed proceeding.

Thirdly—It is clear that some members of the Church, who were present at her public prayers, and who must have been expected therefore to remain till the conclusion of the service, neither did, nor, according to her canons, could communicate daily. An instance has already been adduced from the history of Socrates, in which persons were allowed to communicate with the Church's

sarius, the Bishop appears to have pronounced a benediction after the consecration, for those who did not receive.—*Sermo* 281, 2, *Append. to S. Aug.* vol. v.; and vide *Mabillon de Liturg. Gall.* i. 4, p. 35.

⁸⁸ Hom. de Baptismo Christi, iv. vol. ii. p. 374.

prayers, who were not permitted to partake of the mysteries. Nor was this a single case. When those who were subjected to penance had passed through its three lower stages, it was the established usage not to admit them at once to the full privileges of the Church, but to allow them to join in the Eucharistic prayers without communicating. They were called *consistentes*, *costanders*, because they were allowed to worship with the congregation at the time of the oblation, though it was not partaken by themselves. This usage has the highest authority, for it was ordained by the Council of Nice: it is of the highest antiquity, for it was sanctioned at the still earlier Council of Ancyra, A. D. 315. Those who were admitted to this privilege were said "to communicate in prayer only,"⁸⁹ or "to communicate without the oblation."⁹⁰ The last words imply probably, as was ordered by the Council of Eliberis (canon 28), that those who did not actually communicate, should not be allowed to contribute towards the expenses of the offering. So that this was an incomplete communion, which was followed after a time, as the Council of Ancyra expresses it, by "admission to full privileges." For "the word communicating," says Bingham (xviii. i. 6), "does not always mean partaking of the Eucharist, but communicating in prayers only, without the oblation; which was but an imperfect sort of communion." From which it follows that

⁸⁹ Conc. Nic. Can. 13; Hard. i. 230.⁹⁰ Conc. Ancyra. Can. 4, 5, 6.

while it was considered to be a loss to be debarred the sacrament, to be present only at the sacrifice was supposed to be a gain.

The case of the *consistentes*, then, shows that it was not considered unlawful for those who were disqualified from taking part in the sacrament, to be present at the sacrifice. Now various circumstances of a temporary nature were a disqualification from receiving. In the African Church, many persons were prevented from attending on the station days, by an unwillingness to break their fast. Tertullian⁹¹ advises them to attend, but to receive, and reserve, instead of partaking of, the Eucharist. Another hindrance was the opinion that St. Paul's advice to the Corinthians (*I. Cor.* vii. 5), taken in conjunction with the principle laid down under the ancient Covenant (*Exodus*, xix. 15; *I. Sam.* xxi. 4, 5), was a guide for the conduct of married Christians. And as in many places rules were laid down by those in authority⁹² on this subject, they could not have required the whole mass of the people to communicate daily.

Fourthly—Now this leads to the last statement, that the ancient canons contain no order of general obligation, either that every one should receive, or that those who were unprepared to receive should

⁹¹ De Oratione, 14.

⁹² Vide Responsa Canonica Timothei, 5 and 13. Beveridge's Pandecta Can. vol. ii. pt. i. 166. Theodore's Penitentiary, xlv. 3. St. Jerome on Tit. i. vol. iv. part i. p. 418. The same opinion is alluded to by St. Ambrose De Cain and Abel, ii. 6, 21, vol. i. p. 216, by Siricius, Ep. 4; Labbe's Concil. vol. ii. 1226; by Innocent I. Ep. 2, Id. vol. iii. 10; by St. Caesarius, App. to St. Aug. v. Serm. 266. 2.

go away. On this point it is necessary to be the more particular, because the readers of Bingham are led to suppose, that to partake in the sacrifice without partaking in the sacrament was prohibited in early times. The rules to which Bingham refers are the 9th Apostolical canon, repeated with some modification in the 2nd canon of the Council of Antioch, and by some later Councils; and a spurious decretal in the canon law, attributed to Pope Anacletus, which shows, however, says Bingham (xv. iv. 1), "the practice that was then prevailing even in the Roman Church." The decretal runs as follows: "After consecration let all communicate, who would not be cast out of the Church: for so the Apostles appointed, and the Holy Roman Church observes this custom."⁹³

It seems singular, at first sight, that such a direction should have been given in the eighth or ninth centuries; for the spurious decretals, as Bingham says, express the opinions and practices which prevailed when they were forged, and the evidence which has been adduced puts it beyond question, that before that time persons took part in the sacrifice when they did not partake of the sacrament. But the difficulty is explained if we turn to the decretal⁹⁴ itself: the passage has no reference whatever, as the readers of Bingham might suppose, to the duties of the *people*: it is a direction given to the priests and deacons who are in

⁹³ Gratian de Consecrat. Dist. ii. cap. x.

⁹⁴ Anacleti, Epis. i. 2. Hard. i. 65.

attendance on the Bishop. They are ordered to communicate when the Bishop celebrates the Holy Eucharist. It is only an instance, therefore, of the rule universally prevalent in ancient times, by which the *Priesthood* were required to be habitual communicants. Thus the first Council of Toledo orders all *clerks* to "attend the daily sacrifice," under pain of deprivation; while it is contented to order *laymen* to be subjected to penance "if they never communicate."⁹⁵

This principle must be borne in mind, in considering the earlier canons, to which we now proceed. The 8th and 9th canons of the Apostles are as follows. "8. If any Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or other member of the clerical body, does not receive, when the oblation has been offered, let him assign the cause, and if it be a good one, let him be pardoned. If he assign no cause, let him be cut off from communion, as doing mischief to the people, and raising suspicion against the offerer, as though he has not rightly offered. 9. All the faithful who come in, and hear the Scriptures, but do not continue for the prayer and the holy receiving, ought to be cut off from communion, as producing disorder in the Church." This is quoted by Bingham, as though it ordered all who were present to *receive* daily; which is more than it says. The officiating ministers, indeed, are ordered to do so, unless they give a

⁹⁵ Concil. Tolet. i. Can. 5 and 13, Hard. i. 991.

satisfactory reason to the contrary ; but all which is required of the Laity is to remain for the prayers and the administration. The direction respecting the priesthood would lead us to expect that more could not be imposed upon the laity. For the common rule was, that the clergy were bound to a far stricter observance than the people : the priesthood is described by St. Cyprian as those “ who daily solemnize the sacrifices of God ;”⁹⁶ yet nothing is required of them but a conditional reception. How, then, could an unconditional reception be exacted daily from the laity ?

The conclusion, then, which Bingham derives from this canon, and which he founds upon the Latin Version of Dionysius Exiguus, is not borne out by the Greek original. Neither is the existence of such a general law compatible either with the conduct of the Church in regard to the *Consistentes*, nor with the example, which has been cited from the history of St. Chrysostom. So that taking these canons by themselves, it seems natural to interpret them as is done by a Greek Scholiast, adduced by Beveridge. “ Putting the two canons together we say, that those who are numbered in the sacred list, and who minister in the Sacramental mysteries, but do not receive the oblation when it is offered, are cut off, unless they assign a satisfactory reason. But the consecrated persons who do not go to the altar, and handle

⁹⁶ Ad Cornelium, liv.

what is sacred; and all the faithful laity; unless they wait, and continue to the end, and until that which is sacred has been received by those who are worthy, are cut off as irregular. For to say that all of us—the faithful laity, and all consecrated persons, who do not take part in the holy rites, must receive that which is sacred every day, or if not, be cut off, is neither contemplated by the canon, nor is it possible. And therefore the 9th canon says, that the faithful who do not remain shall be punished, and does not add the words *those who do not receive*. Understand the canons in this way, consistently with the 2nd Canon of the Council of Antioch.”⁹⁷

These canons are commented upon by two other Greek Scholiasts,⁹⁸ Zonaras and Aristenus, neither of whom affirms that reception, as well as attendance, was required from the laity; though Zonaras refers to the well-known fact, that frequent communion was prevalent in early times. Balsamon, however, understands the canon to have had the wider sense attributed to it by Bingham, and expresses surprise at its harshness. But all the commentators⁹⁹ connect these canons with the 2nd canon¹⁰⁰ of the Council of Antioch, which gives

⁹⁷ Beveridge *Pandecta Canonum*, vol. i. p. 6.

⁹⁸ Beveridge *ubi sup.*

⁹⁹ Vide Beveridge, vol. i. p. 6, 431, 432.

¹⁰⁰ “All who go into the Church of God, and hear the Holy Scriptures, but do not communicate in prayer with the people, or turn away in an *irregular manner* from the receiving of the Eucharist—shall be cast out from the Church.”—*Hard.* i. 593. The Scholiast says: “the Fathers order those to be cast out of the Church who refuse to take part in the prayers, and to communicate, *irregularly*, that is, without any satisfactory cause, but in an irregular and groundless manner.”—*Zonaras in Beveridge*, vol. i. p. 432.

the direction a wholly different meaning from that assigned to it by Bingham. For this Antiochene Canon is not the expression of a general principle, or designed to guard against any separation of the sacrifice from the sacrament, but it is merely a local injunction, founded on the prevalence of a particular heresy, and its censure is directed against those who "turn away from communion in a disorderly manner." There were those in the East at that time, who refused to partake of the Holy Eucharist, if it had been consecrated by a married priest,¹⁰¹ and who on this and other pretexts, had formed themselves into a schismatical body, which continued to attend the public worship of the Church, but communicated in private. Against this practice the 2nd canon of Antioch was aimed; and if it be supposed that the 8th and 9th Apostolical Canons were in like manner only local Constitutions in the Eastern Church, which have outlived the particular purpose for which they were designed, they may no doubt be interpreted in that stricter sense which Bingham assigns to them. Such an interpretation is rendered plausible by the reason which they assign—a fear of disorder in the Church, and the suspicion which may be cast upon the party by whom the oblation is offered. This circumstance would seem to imply that the object of the canons in question was merely, like that of the 2nd canon of Antioch,

¹⁰¹ Coun. of Gangra. Can. 4, 5, 6, &c. Hard. i. 534.

to put a stop to the irregular practices of the Eustatians, who desired to take part in the Eucharistic oblation,¹⁰² while they received the Holy Eucharist from some priest who had no mission from the Bishop of the Diocese.

It is plain, then, that the grounds produced by Bingham, are no proof that it was the intention of the ancient Church to exclude communicants from the sacrifice, whenever they were unprepared for the reception of the Sacrament. For the decretal of Anacletus refers not to the laity, but only to the clergy; while the 2nd canon of Antioch was not designed to express any general principle, but was merely a local constitution, intended to correct a particular irregularity; and it is only by supposing that the 8th and 9th Apostolical Canons were local constitutions also, that they can be made to bear that sense, for which Bingham contends. So that if this is indeed their meaning, they cannot be supposed to express any general law of the ancient Church. Such a law would be incompatible with the fact, that the *Consistentes* were forbidden to partake of the sacrament, while they were expected to be present at the sacrifice. It has been shown, too, that during the earliest ages, the public ritual of the Church consisted

¹⁰² A similar reason may have led to the prohibition against receiving the oblations of those who were not communicants.—*Conc. Eliberit.* Can. 28. Yet it was sometimes done: as S. Basil received the oblation of the Emperor Valens.—*Greg. Naz. Or.* xx. p. 351, and *Theod. Hist.* iv. 19. On that occasion Valens seems to have been present at the Eucharistic office (for it was the Epiphany), without communicating.

exclusively of the Eucharistic Office ; now while there were occasions on which men were unprepared to partake, it was never contemplated that those who were in communion with the Church should go away. We may conclude, then, that to allow the constant presence of communicants at the Eucharistic sacrifice, though daily reception were left a matter of advice, and not of commandment, would not be at variance with the laws of the Church, any more than with the typical ordinances of the tabernacle : it would not be opposed either to the shadows of the Law, or the realities of the Gospel.

Thirdly—The last question, however, remains : what is its benefit ? Now the first answer to this is, that those who forbid the practice ought to show it to be unlawful. Here is a custom which has existed, as it would seem, from the very commencement of the Church, and which was for the first time forbidden, through the influence of the Zuinglian party, at the end of fifteen centuries and a half. Surely such a circumstance throws the burthen of proof upon the excluding party. Why should men be debarred that liberty which was allowed them in the primitive Church, unless it can be proved to be unlawful ?

But the advantages which individuals might draw from such a custom are obvious. The moral benefits to be derived from the holy associations of such a season are incalculable. If that which is

bestowed in holy ordinances is the Presence of Christ, can it be possible to overestimate the blessing of drawing so near to Him? Are men so independent of the influences of place and circumstance, as to render them indifferent to an occasion when heaven and earth are truly brought into relation, and when the sublime realities which are habitual to the one, extend themselves for a passing season to the other?

But the greatest benefit which, according to the ancient writers, is attained by individuals through participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice, is the acceptableness which it confers upon their prayers. Not only are their emotions more intense, but their petitions are more efficacious. And what can be of more import to the suppliant, than that he should attain his request? Therefore does St. Chrysostom represent not men only, but angels and archangels, as feeling an especial interest in the Church's oblation, because "then the occasion aids their petitions, and the offering gives them help."¹⁰³ But it is to the saints on earth that this opportunity is so peculiarly precious, because it is the bestowing for a season of that privilege, which is perpetually afforded to the saints in bliss; it is a foretaste of the beatific vision; heaven and earth are for a moment united; inasmuch as the Incarnate Lord, whose manifested Intercession is the central point of the one, bestows Himself by actual Presence in

¹⁰³ Hom. de Incomprehensibili, iii. 7, vol. i. p. 470.

the other. And is it not a signal blessing to be allowed to co-operate in those prayers, which are rendered acceptable by the immediate Presence of the Great Victim ; and wherein the petitions of the Church on earth are blended with those of the Church in heaven ? “ When the whole people stands with uplifted hands, a priestly assembly, and that awful sacrifice lies displayed, how shall we not prevail with God by our entreaties ? ” ¹⁰⁴

But beyond any benefit which may accrue to individuals, this practice has its importance for the collective Church. It was the exclusion of the mass of men from the Christian sacrifice, which made it necessary to substitute other offices, by which the daily Eucharist has been practically superseded. Now no circumstance has had more influence than this upon the belief of the people. We may trace to it the popular conviction, which no argument can efface, that congregations meet together merely for the quickening of their feelings, or for the imparting of instruction, and not that they may obtain their petitions. And thus the notion of the Church's *work*, as an actual operative transaction, is well-nigh lost.

The effect of such errors in diminishing men's practical sense of the Mediation of Christ, it is impossible to overestimate. The *Mediation* of Christ means that work which He effects through His Human nature, because it is not the interference

¹⁰⁴ St. Chrysos. Hom. iii. 4. in Philip.

of any casual intercessor, but results from that position which He has vouchsafed to take between God and mankind. He is the sole Mediator between God and man, because He only can stand midway between both. Let the efficacy, then, of His man's nature be forgotten, and His Mediation is lost. Yet how does the efficacy of His man's nature display itself, save through those sacraments wherein He bestows Himself as the sustenance of His people, and presents Himself as their perpetual Intercessor with God? So that when the Holy Eucharist ceases to be regarded as a real action, wherein Christ's very Presence is exhibited on earth, and whereby prayer is truly rendered available, men fall back upon some other system of approaching to God, and with a change in belief comes a change in the principle of worship. Thus do individual prayer, and private faith, and single piety, take the place of that collective action, whereby the whole Church was supposed in ancient days to offer itself to God; and are supposed not only to be necessary, which they are, to the Christian life, but to have right in themselves to acceptance. Whereas nothing has a claim to acceptance but the sacrifice of Christ; and the Church's claim is that she is His mystical body; and it is the oblation of the perfect Head, which gives efficacy to that of the imperfect members. For "the Church offers to God the symbols of Our Lord's Body and Blood, sanctifying the whole lump through the first-fruits."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Theodoret in Psalm. 109, 4.

Upon this principle will depend our part in that great controversy between faith and rationalism, which grows more imminent every day. The question at issue between these two systems is, whether the hopes of the world are to turn upon the order of grace, or the order of nature. If the progress of society is to lead to individual improvement and national reform, if it is thus that men are to be emancipated from the debasing bonds of sense, and the soul is to hold nearer intercourse with that Great Being, from whom it originally proceeded—then the law and system of the world contains within it the seed of a moral resurrection, and the order of nature leads up to God. But those whose hope is in the order of grace, must accept all those great truths, which are involved in the New Creation of mankind through Christ Jesus. The renewal of the individual heart, the guidance of the collective judgment, the right of approach to Him from whom mankind has been separated by sin—all must come from their relation to that New Head of our race, who re-built in Himself the ruins of Humanity. Thus does a supernatural system, and a new law, take place of that original relation to God, which resulted from our mental constitution. Through the Mediation of Christ are gifts bestowed upon men; through the Mediation of Christ, is our access to the Father. He is the Saviour of His Body mystical; and its offering is rendered acceptable, because He identifies it with the actual offering of Himself.

Such was the faith of that early age, when the fresh zeal of the Christian community had not been chilled by unbelief, or darkened by controversy. Its cardinal principle was a firm conviction of the reality of consecration, as a process whereby things earthly, and the order of nature, are superseded by things heavenly, and by the order of grace. So that the gift bestowed in the Holy Eucharist is bestowed in and through the consecrated elements. And this gift is nothing less than the presence of that Incarnate God, whose Flesh and Blood are the media whereby He imparts Himself. His Presence is a *Real Presence*, though not bestowed according to the order of nature; the visible is not more truly present than the Invisible: the *sacramentum*, which addresses itself to the sense, than the *res sacramenti*, which addresses itself to faith and to the mind. And hence does the continual sacrifice of the Church derive its value, because the offering which is presented on earth is one with that which is presented in Heaven.

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